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REMARKS ON THE SILVER COINAGE OF HENRY VI

By H. ALEXANDER PARSONS

THE coinages of Henry VI appear still to present problems which have, so far, not perhaps received the attention they warrant, or at least, if they have, the solutions have not yet been made available. The main reign from A.D. 1422 to A.D. 1461, although a long one, presents, in its silver coinage, but one general type. On the obverse there is a conventional full-faced bust, crowned, and with the hair exaggeratedly shown at the sides, the whole enclosed in a tressure of curves (on the groat and half-groat) and on all the coins surrounded by the legend. On the reverse, we have four quarters each containing three pellets, surrounded by two legends, an inner one and an outer one, in the case of the groats and half-groats, and by one legend, the mint-name, in the case of the other denominations; the whole impressed with a plain cross extending to the edges of the coins.

Notwithstanding this similarity of design throughout the whole period it has been the practice, from early times, to divide the coins of the reign into a number of distinct classes, based upon the presence on the coins of certain special marks or symbols, which are in addition to the general design of the money. Such a division was forced upon the early numismatists not merely by the presence on the coins of the symbols alluded to, which required some sort of explanation, but also by the absence of the large variety of initial mint-marks which formed so marked a feature of the following and all succeeding reigns, to the end of the "hammered" period, a feature which, apart from change of type, enabled the numismatist to evolve, with practical certainty, the sequence of the issues of the coins. The only decidedly different initial mint-marks known on the heavy silver coins of Henry VI are the plain cross, in varied forms and sometimes pierced, and the cross fleury, a number obviously insufficient to mark the frequent emissions of the reign. Hence arose a differentiation of the issues by symbols, the only effective method which the coins themselves presented. Hawkins in his *Silver Coins of England* laid down, on the basis of the symbols on the coins, a reasonable progressive

division of the issues, and under his classification the coins of the reign were divided into six classes, as follows:

1. The Annulet issue.
2. The Rosette-mascle issue.
3. The Pine-cone-mascle issue.
4. The Pine-cone-trefoil issue.
5. The Pine-cone-pellet issue.
6. The Cross-pellet issue.

It should, perhaps, be observed that these issues do not include the "Light" coinage of Henry VI during the Restoration period, 1470-1, which can only be scientifically considered with the coins of Edward IV.

Mr. F. A. Walters, in his illuminating account of the silver coins of Henry VI, published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1902, followed the divisions adopted by Hawkins, but he appeared to be inclined to consider that there was a further class consisting of coins identical, in all respects, with the first issue of Edward IV. These coins are marked with a lis on the neck, and have pellets at the sides of the crown. In the 1887 edition of Hawkins there is a passing reference to these lis-marked coins under Class VI.

Mr. Walters also brought under notice a decidedly different variety of the object hitherto known as the pine-cone, and he divided Hawkins's pine-cone-mascle issue, Class III, into two divisions, one marked with pine-cones and mascles and the other with what he called rose leaves and mascles.

The still more modern trend of classification, as exemplified in Dr. G. C. Brooke's work entitled *English Coins*, has resulted in an increase in the number of issues to eleven, by the constitution of the rose-leaf-mascle coins, above referred to, as a separate issue, by the introduction of the trefoil and trefoil-pellet issues (of which, however, the former of these two still retains the pine-cone on the tressure under the bust), and by the constitution, as a distinct issue, of certain coins of the reign considered by Dr. Brooke as having no marks on them, notwithstanding that they have the extra pellets on the reverse common to the later issues of the reign.

Mr. Walters, in his work before mentioned, also had the idea that the number of distinct issues should be largely increased, as is evident from his remark on the amount of

silver coined "that the accounts from 1440 to 1460 agree very well with the number of small issues of which we have evidence during the period". He goes on to state "that Hawkins and others divided these into three groups, Classes IV, V, and VI, but they could be divided into a considerably larger number".

Following this idea in relation to the whole period there is a series of coins of the reign, comprising the groat, half-groat, and penny, and at present known of Calais and York, bearing a combination of symbols which would be difficult to place unless the series were constituted a distinct main issue. I allude to the coins, not uncommon so far as the groats are concerned, bearing the combination of the annulet and trefoil (**Plate, fig. 5**). These coins have, I believe, been hitherto regarded as a transitional issue, but such an explanation is not altogether convincing when it is recollected that between the true annulet issue and the first of the trefoil issues there are at least two extensive emissions, well known as the rosette-mascle and pine-cone-mascle issues. There are, in fact, no two contiguous issues that the annulet-trefoil coins could be a transition between, and there seems little or no alternative to constituting them a separate main issue.

These annulet-trefoil coins have annulets in the field of the obverse, and in one, instead of two, quarters of the reverse, and they bear trefoils at the left side of the crown, or after POSVI, or in both places. In the case of the penny, as there is no POSVI legend, the trefoil does not appear on the reverse, but it is evident on the left side of the crown.

The place in the sequence of issues of this distinctive coinage is, I suggest, after the pine-cone-mascle issue and, judged by the type of the initial mint-mark, the plain cross, before the pine-cone-trefoil issue, for on the latter coinage we get the initial mint-mark of the cross fleury for the first time, and this displaces, at first gradually, the plain cross of the previous coinages.

Apart from the difficulty of placing the annulet-trefoil coins above described, one has to bear in mind the possibility of having to consider some of the symbols solely as pyx trial marks, and not marks of distinct issues. These pyx trials may possibly, according to precedent, and at least in some years, have been made as frequently as four times annually.

We do not appear to know whether, in fact, the pyx trials were carried out so frequently as four times a year in the reign of Henry VI; the probabilities are against it. I venture to suggest that our first step to obtain a clear view of this problem must be to decide what combinations of symbols were adopted to mark the main issues, leaving the unappropriated balance, if any, or other peculiarities, to represent the differentiating marks of the intermediate pyx trials. It might, however, reasonably be surmised that a change in the symbols dividing the main issues formed the marking which would denote the first contribution of the issue to the pyx box.

Prior to the publication of Dr. Brooke's *English Coins*, the division of the main issues or classes of Henry VI seems to have been based only upon the symbols, or combinations of them, appearing on such coins as have come down to us in fair numbers. Having regard, however, to the uncertainty of treasure trove, it is as unreasonable to consider that, because a combination of symbols appears only on a few coins of Henry VI, those coins cannot constitute a distinct general issue of money, as it would be to assert that, because only a few pennies of some of the rare types of, say, Henry I exist, they could not represent separate and general issues of money. The rarity of to-day may be a common coin to-morrow. In exemplification of this it may be mentioned that, prior to the Beaworth hoard of 1833, the pennies of the commonest type of William I, the Paxs type, were amongst the rarest coins of that king.

Instead, therefore, of relying solely on the coins for a decision as to the number of general issues of the reign, and then considering where such issues fall into the recorded periods of bullion coined, it is proposed to reverse the process and to consider first the recorded periods of bullion coined and then endeavour to fix the coins we have into those periods. At least we should have a more complete idea of the number of main issues.

That some such thought was in the mind of Mr. Walters at the time he wrote his paper on the silver coins of Henry VI is evident from his remark as follows. "I should be inclined to think that each of the accounts which Ruding describes as in bundles in the Tower represents the total amount of bullion coined during each of the separate issues which, by

their mint-marks and other special characteristics, were no doubt confined to certain dates."

In the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1929 there appears a series of monetary statistics relating to the period from 1377 to 1550 culled from the records by Miss E. Stokes, and entitled "Tables of bullion coined". So far as the reign of Henry VI is concerned, similar tables had previously been compiled by Mr. F. A. Walters from the same source. I was expecting to obtain considerable assistance from these details, but on examining them closely it was found that, so far as the reign of Henry VI is concerned, they relate only to the amounts of bullion purchased by the mint and, further, the details do not include the Calais accounts except for one entry of A.D. 1436 of bullion coined, mentioned by Mr. Walters, and subsequently referred to hereunder. For the present purpose the writer does not consider that those tables are of authoritative value in regard to the actual bullion coined but, in Ruding's still valuable work, *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, a reference is given not only to the amounts of bullion purchased by the mint, but also to the quantities of bullion actually coined, together with the periods during which the money was made. Ruding's details also include the important Calais accounts.

A complete extract of the details furnished by Ruding is given in the Table (on p. 6), columns 2, 4, and 5. Mr. Walters in his paper on the silver coins of Henry VI, before mentioned, considered that these accounts in Ruding of bullion coined were nearly, if not quite, complete, with the exception of the interval between the eleventh and eighteenth years, and the absence of any Calais accounts after the pine-cone-mascle coinage. He, however, subsequently traced an entry of 1,770 lb. of silver coined in the Calais mint in February and March 1436, and this has been included with Ruding's details.

From this Table emerges the fact that on at least eleven separate occasions, which I have numbered at the side 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, definite sums were expended in separated periods in order to furnish coins for use in the kingdom including Calais, and it seems probable, as Mr. Walters suggested, that each of these eleven separated periods represent distinct issues of money differentiated from each other, in the absence of distinct changes of type

Table of Bullion Coined

No.	Period, regnal	Period, datal	Mint	Amount coined	Issue
1	10th Hen. V to 3rd Hen. VI.	1422-5	London	£6,924 0 10 lb. oz. dwt.	Annulet. Fig. 1.
	25 Feb. 2nd Hen. VI to 31 Jan. 6th year	1424-8	Calais	67,745 4 10	
2	28 July, 3rd Hen. VI to 27 July 9th year	1425-31	London	4,919 9 10	Rosette-mascle. Fig. 2.
	20 Feb. 6th Hen. VI to 3 Aug. 9th year	1428-31	Calais	89,660 9 0	
3	12 Oct. 10th Hen. VI to 13 Oct. 11th year	1432-3	London	1,466 9 10	Pine-cone-mascle. Fig. 3.
	11th Hen. VI	1433	Calais	26,182 10 0	
4	No record	No record	"	"	Leaf-mascle. Fig. 4.
5	10 Feb. to 30 March 1436	1436	"	1,770 0 0*	Annulet-trefoil. Fig. 5.
6	No record	No record	"	"	Pine-cone-trefoil. Fig. 6.
	18th and 19th years	1440-1	London	2,751 3 10	
7	Mich. 23rd Hen. VI to Mich. 24th year	1445-6	"	207 3 0	Trefoils only on reverse. Fig. 7.
8	25th year	1447	"	88 7 5	Not identifiable.
9	24 June, 26th Hen. VI to 11 Oct. 28th year	1448-50	"	651 2 15	Trefoil-pellet. Fig. 8.
10	Mich. 29th Hen. VI to Fest. Pasch 30th year	1451-2	"	9,980 5 17	Pine-cone-pellet. Fig. 9.
11	1 April 31st Hen. VI to 28 Mar. 34th year	1453-6	"	9,075 3 15	Cross-mullet. Fig. 10.
12	Mich. 37th Hen. VI to Mich. 38th year	1459-60	"	3,103 2 0	Cross-mascle. Fig. 11.
Bullion purchased by the Mint—E. Stokes, <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1929.					
13	38th Hen. VI to Mich. 39th Hen. VI	1460-1	London	7,042 7 0	Lis-pellet. Fig. 12.

* *Num. Chron.*, 1911, p. 173.

and legend, by the placing, in the field or in the legends, of clearly defined marks or symbols.

It will be observed from the Table that there is a considerable hiatus between the eleventh and eighteenth years, except for the record of A.D. 1436 subsequently discovered by Mr. Walters. Ruding was not altogether satisfied that he had seen all the accounts, and Mr. Walters's discovery shows that he had not. Further, the written, apart from the statistical, records of the Calais mint show that it was intermittently active during the period. Allowing for these missing accounts, it will be noticed that the number of issues of the reign, each probably distinguished by certain well-defined marks, amounted to thirteen, which can be conveniently labelled as shown in the last column of the Table. It will be noticed that one issue, number 4, is inserted in the period from 1433 to 1436 of which there is no record of bullion coined, and that in the period between 1436 and 1440 it is suggested that the Calais coins of the pine-cone-trefoil type were issued. Evidence for these insertions in the Table of bullion coined will be adduced later.

I will now give reasons for the order of issues as shown in the Table, although it should be mentioned that details have been published and inferences drawn by previous writers on this aspect of the subject, at least in connexion with some of the issues.

So far as the first and last coinages are concerned we appear to be on solid ground. The first or annulet coinage (**Plate, fig. 1**) is identical in practically all respects with the last or annulet issue of Henry V of London, although possibly the form of the initial mint-mark may be a means of dividing the coins of the two reigns. At least Mr. Walters thought so. There can be no reasonable doubt that this last coinage of Henry V, and first of Henry VI, was one continuative issue, and that it is represented by the entry of £6,924 os. 10d. worth of bullion coined under the years 1422-5. Further evidence of this is furnished by the annulet coins of the York mint, and by the records of that mint. Calais coins, identical in all respects with the London annulet coins of Henry V and VI, are in evidence in the greatest abundance, and they are no doubt the results of the use of the 67,745 odd pounds of bullion recorded as used during the years 1424 to 1428. We know from the records of the Calais mint that it did not

recommence to strike money until after the commencement of the reign of Henry VI.

At the other end of the reign, no reasonable doubt can exist as to the proper place of Class number 13, the lis-pellet coinage (**Plate, fig. 12**), for it is identical, except as to the king's name, with the relative issue of the heavy coinage of Edward IV. Although Ruding does not give details of bullion coined in the reign of Henry VI after the year 1460, the Table furnished by Miss E. Stokes in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1929 discloses that over 7,040 pounds of bullion were bought by the mint from Michaelmas 1460 to Michaelmas 1461, and there seems good reason to suppose that from this bullion was coined the lis-pellet issue of Henry VI and Edward IV, although the record is not so convincing as it would have been had it been of the amount of bullion actually coined into money.

Had Edward's accession to the throne been a normal one it is probable that his lis-pellet coins would have continued to bear Henry's name, but we know that it was a disputed succession, and whatever Edward's claims may have been, he actually ascended the throne by right of conquest, and the earliest steps would need to be taken to alter the king's name on the coins, if not the type or symbols. As neither the type, nor the marking, was altered it is a reasonable assumption that the lis-pellet issues of Henry VI and Edward IV followed each other without a break, and the accounts of bullion used for both would not be made up until the reign of the latter king, although the bullion would have been purchased and commenced to have been used in Henry's reign.

A further feature, and one mentioned by Mr. Walters, which indicates the place of the lis-pellet issue, is the presence, on the coins, of the reverse initial mint-mark of the plain cross, a mark which had been discontinued from the coinages of Henry VI long before, and which is universally in evidence again on the coins of Edward IV. This temporary disappearance, on the reverse of the coins of Henry VI, of the initial mint-mark provides one reliable line of division between the issues of the reign, those with the initial mint-mark on the reverse falling into the first part of the period, and those issues without the mark falling into the latter part of the reign, before its reintroduction.

Examination of the coins shows that the trefoil issue (**Plate, fig. 7**) is the last of the earlier coinages to bear the initial mint-mark on the reverse; and from the trefoil-pellet issue to the cross coinages the initial mint-mark is absent on the reverse. On this test, therefore, issues one to seven group together in the first part of the reign, and issues nine to twelve group together in the latter part of the period.

In the early group of issues the annulet and rosette-mascle coinages (**Plate, figs. 1 and 2**) are linked together by a transition type with annulets on the obverse, and annulets and rosettes on the reverse. Although "mule" coins of non-consecutive issues are not unknown in this reign there is so frequent a series of mule coins combining a rosette-mascle obverse with a pine-cone-mascle reverse, and vice versa, that, added to the continuance of the mascle in conjunction with a new symbol, the pine-cone, on the latter issue, we are justified in considering that these two issues followed one another. The pine-cone-trefoil issue (**Plate, fig. 6**) is fixed to the appropriated period by the fact that the last of the Calais coins bear the marks of this issue. The Calais groat given by Walters to the pine-cone-pellet issue seems really to belong to the pine-cone-trefoil coinage with the trefoils omitted, for it has the mint-mark before POSVI, and is without the pellets of the pine-cone-pellet issue.

It will be observed from the Table of issues, that there is no record of the amount of bullion coined at the Calais mint corresponding with the London output of the pine-cone-trefoil issue, and that there is a hiatus between 1433 and 1436 in the records of bullion coined. The *Rolls of Parliament*, iv. 340, § 24, show, however, that the profits of the Calais mint, granted for five years from the 11th of November 1425 to the Treasurer and Victualler of the town,¹ were continued, in 1429, for another five years in order to cover a Treasury grant of 10,000 marks.² This would show that the Calais mint was active up to at least 1434, and the coins struck in this latter year may account for the leaf-mascle issue (**Plate, fig. 4**), which, owing to the presence of the mascles, almost certainly followed the pine-cone-mascle issue (**Plate, fig. 3**). Further, Mr. Walters had, in his collection, a groat with the reverse of the leaf-mascle issue linked with an ordinary pine-cone-mascle obverse.

¹ *Ruding*, ii, p. 256.

² *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. xvi, p. 92.

The *Proceedings and Ordinances of Privy Council*, iv. 306-7, also show that, on the 13th of December 1435, an issue of coining appliances was made to the Master of the Calais mint comprising 350 sets for groats, 600 for half-groats, 30 for pennies, and 60 for halfpennies and farthings.¹ This issue of irons, which appears to have been unknown to Mr. Walters when he wrote his paper, implies the expectation of another fresh supply of coins marked differently from the preceding, and synchronizes with Mr. Walters's own discovery of the 1,770 lb. of silver coined in February and March 1436. That earlier use of the irons was not made is explained by the entry in the Foreign Roll that from 30 March 1435 to 10 February 1436 no money was coined, on account of the war with Burgundy.²

The above issue of coining irons and record of bullion coined would account for the annulet-trefoil issue (**Plate, fig. 5**), which, having regard to the use of those symbols, suggests the striking of the coins before, and contiguous to, the main trefoil issues. The scarcity of the annulet-trefoil coins is also explained by the comparatively small amount of bullion coined in 1436.

In the same year Calais was besieged by the Duke of Burgundy, with no doubt a further suspension of coining activity, but, according to the *Proceedings and Ordinances of Privy Council*, v. 131, twelve pyles and ninety-six cruses for groats and three pyles and twelve cruses each for half-groats, pennies, halfpennies and farthings were issued to the Master in January 1441.³ In the following year that office appears to have been abolished in favour of a Receiver and Keepership, and was combined with the Treasurership of the Town, vide *Privy Council Proceedings*, v. 283. This appears to end the coining activities of the Calais mint, although officials were appointed under various titles,⁴ no doubt as holders of sinecure offices.

I have accordingly bracketed the very rare issue of pine-cone-trefoil Calais groats with the London output of 1440-1, number 6 on the Table (**Plate, fig. 6**), as I consider them the result of the small issue of coining irons to the Calais mint in January 1441, above mentioned. This allocation is justified on the grounds that this issue of irons is the last record

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. xvi, p. 92.

³ *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. xvi, p. 93.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1911, p. 173.

⁴ *Ruding*, ii. 256-7.

we have of the activities of the Calais mint, and the pine-cone-trefoil groats are the last-known Calais coins of the reign. The London coins bearing the same symbols naturally belong to the same period and can therefore be appropriated to the definite record of bullion coined then. Dr. Brooke gives this issue to *circa* 1438 on the ground that Bishop Neville was appointed to the see of Durham in that year, and that he began his coinage with the pine-cone-trefoil marks. The evidence adduced above shows, however, that the issue was placed by Brooke rather earlier than was probably the case, and moreover there is no record of a coinage or of bullion coined in Calais from 1436 until January 1441. The Bishop of Durham evidently did not commence to coin for some time after his appointment to the see in 1438.

The present allocation of the Calais annulet-trefoil coins to 1436 and of the Calais pine-cone-trefoil coins to 1441 is also borne out by the relative numbers of these coins which have come down to us. The specimens of this annulet-trefoil issue, although rare, are much less so than those of the pine-cone-trefoil coins of Calais, and this is accounted for, at least in part, by the relative numbers of irons suggested above as used for each issue.

That the output of the Calais mint was much restricted after 1433 is indicated by the introduction of a new system of payment by piece-work for graving of the dies at this time. Instead of an annual salary of £20, as granted on the 23rd of November 1431, "so long as the quantity of money struck at Calais did not become less", the king's graver, under a new patent of 18 August 1433, was authorized to receive payment only from time to time for such dies as were required.¹ It has been indicated above that this new method of payment for graving of irons from time to time was carried out only on two occasions after the leaf-mascle issue, namely, in 1436 and 1441, corresponding with the rare annulet-trefoil and pine-cone-trefoil Calais coins. The new method of payment indicates that a considerable lessening of the activities of the Calais mint was anticipated in its last few years, and it would not be unreasonable to consider that the record of its coinages in the reign of Henry VI, as given here, is now complete.

At this point it should be mentioned that both Walters

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1918, p. 117.

and Brooke discontinued the use of the descriptive word pine-cone after the introduction of the true leaf-mascle issue, at the same time admitting that the objects afterwards depicted on the coins were rougher and coarser than those on the undoubted leaf-mascle issue. On the numerous coins I have seen bearing this debatable object it is as much like a pine-cone as a leaf. It is quite possible that the object is neither a pine-cone nor a leaf, but merely some conventional heraldic detail. As, however, since the time of Hawkins, if not before, the object has been called a pine-cone I retain this name, except for the true leaf issue number 4, in preference to introducing the later one of the leaf. It is to be said in favour of this preference that the pine-cone is of one shape only, whereas leaves are multi-shaped and therefore not so descriptive of the object on the coins. Then again this object is often without a stalk which a leaf should always have.

Mr. Walters suggested that the various issues of the "trefoil" coinage should be placed to the period 1445-52. Brooke, however, dates his "trefoil" issue to *circa* 1440 and places the trefoil-pellet coinage immediately after, but as these issues are later phases of the pine-cone-trefoil issue I consider that their place is likely to be considerably later in the decade, as shown against issue numbers 7 and 9 in the Table. Issue number 8, representing the very small emission of 88 pounds weight in bullion, has either failed to be represented in our cabinets to-day, as a distinctively marked coinage, or is to be sought in a further variation of the "trefoil" issues. Alternatively, the bullion was used in continuation of the "trefoil" issue of 1445-6, or in the following trefoil-pellet issue of 1448-50. This latter issue, number 9 on the Table (**Plate, fig. 8**), precedes the pine-cone-pellet issue, number 10 on the Table (**Plate, fig. 9**), in virtue of the introduction on it of the pellets which continued as a regular feature of the coinage throughout the remainder of the reign. The issue with trefoils only on the reverse, number 7 on the Table (**Plate, fig. 7**), follows the pine-cone-trefoil issue, number 6 on the Table, in virtue of the retention, at the point of the tressure under the bust, of the pine-cone of the preceding issue.

Reference should here be made to a few groats, referred to by Hawkins and subsequently by Walters, which are void

of characteristic symbols on the obverse, but have the extra pellets, two or four, in the quarters of the reverse. Brooke constitutes these coins a distinct issue, made late in the reign, describing it as the unmarked issue, his number 9, notwithstanding the presence of the pellets. As, however, the numerous coins of the reign clearly indicate the practice of differentiating the issues by characteristic symbols, I think that it is more feasible to consider the unmarked coins as the product of dies from which the symbols were accidentally omitted by the die-sinker, or were omitted for purposes of a sub-pyx test. This idea is strengthened by the existence of groats, both of London and Calais, also without any characteristic symbols on the obverse, but having rosettes and mascles on the reverse. This latter feature removes these groats from those of the unmarked issue, above referred to, by a lengthy period and there could hardly have been two main issues unmarked on the obverse. Mr. Walters seemed to be inclined to consider these, and some other anomalous coins, as trials, but their weight, appearance, and the fact that they were found with circulated coins imply that they were regular currency, which a trial would not be.

The introduction of the pellets at the sides of the crown on the trefoil-pellet issue, number 9 on the Table (**Plate, fig. 8**), and their presence also on a few coins of the main pine-cone-trefoil issue serve to indicate that the well-known pine-cone-pellet coinage followed. The large amount of bullion recorded to have been struck into coins in 1451-2 agrees very well with the considerable number of these coins which have come down to us.

Brooke puts this pine-cone-pellet coinage to *circa* 1457, which implies the issue only of the very small "trefoil" and "trefoil-pellet" coinages between his dates 1438 to 1457, roughly about twenty years, a very long period indeed for two issues only, small, as these appear to have been, or otherwise. Moreover, there is no record of any bullion coined into money during this latter year.

Brooke was apparently led to his conclusion by the existence of a few pennies of William Booth, Bishop of Durham from 1457, which appear to have a cone on the breast, but they bear also the characteristic saltire cross of Hawkins's Class VI. and judging by his list of coins of Durham under

Henry VI,¹ Brooke evidently was not himself altogether certain whether Booth's pennies were of the pine-cone-pellet or cross-pellet issue. Hawkins and Walters had the same doubt. The evidence advanced in this paper points to these Booth coins being of the cross issues, the cone on them being in the nature of a purposeless repetition. It will also be remembered that pennies are known of mixed Neville and Booth dies, showing some lack of precision in the working of the Durham mint at this very time.

Having regard to the modern tendency for more intensive subdivision of our coinages since Walters wrote in 1902, I think an examination of the issues collectively grouped by Hawkins as Class VI, and followed by Walters and Brooke, will produce features that justify a more minute division of that class. An outstanding detail of these coins is that they introduce, for the first time, a striking and prominently placed symbol called the mullet or five-pointed star. This symbol appears generally after the king's name and at the end of the obverse legend, and their cramped positions show that they were not intended as stops to fill up gaps. A second detail is that the mascle of the earlier coinages of the reign is revived, generally being placed after *HENRIC* and *GRA*. In my view, these distinctive marks have the same significance as the earlier mascle, the rosette, the pine-cone and the trefoil of the preceding issues. In other words, they are marks characteristic of separate coinages. If one accepts the rosette-mascle and the pine-cone-mascle combinations as marking distinct issues, why not also the cross-mascle and cross-mullet combinations?

The recorded amounts of bullion coined after 1452 also indicate that two further separated issues were made, and these can, seemingly, be identified amongst the coins known to us only by a division of Hawkins's Class VI. I have therefore ventured to consider that the mint entries from 1453 to 1460, numbers 11 and 12 on the Table, represent the bullion used for the two varieties which I have named the cross-mullet (Plate, fig. 10) and the cross-mascle issues (Plate, fig. 11). The extra pellets are also retained on these issues. These pellets appear to be part of the design on all the issues of approximately the latter half of the reign, and they continued into that of Edward IV.

¹ *English Coins*, p. 147.

The above order is suggested on the grounds that the mascle is continued on the succeeding lis-pellet issue (**Plate, fig. 12**), and that it is also found on a few coins of the cross-mullet series, evidently marking the transition from that series to the cross-mascle issue. This order is also borne out in practical collecting experience. The amount of bullion used for the proposed cross-mullet coinage shows up nearly treble in quantity as compared with the cross-mascle issue and this agrees with the considerably greater number of mullet-marked groats in our cabinets.

As previously mentioned, it is a reasonable assumption that the special marks selected for each coinage, as above described, were noted for purposes of check at the first pyx trial of the issue. The position of these marks on the coins sometimes varied with the different denominations, and on the lowest denomination, the farthing, they were sometimes omitted through lack of space. It seems doubtful whether, during this troublous time, regular quarterly checks were made, but if such trials were, in fact, more frequent than one for each of the main issues detailed on the Table, the coins must have been marked in other ways than by the insertion on them of characteristic marks or symbols, as all such special marks known are sufficient only to account for the number of issues implied by the amounts of bullion coined, and allowing for such marks and initials as were purely personal badges of the ecclesiastical owners of the York and Durham dies, and necessary to differentiate their coins from those issued from York and Durham under the royal authority.

Examination of the actual specimens shows that the dies from which the money of this reign was struck were, in general, consistently well made, at least for the London and Calais coins, and although there are some errors of spelling, some misplacements of letters, and some deformed letters, such anomalies are not universal enough to be likely to have been designedly imported into all the new dies for pyx trial purposes. In my view they are merely die-sinkers' errors, for we cannot consider that these officials were immaculate.

We are left, seemingly, with the frequent variation in the arrangement of the symbols on the coins, or of their omission from the dies in places, or altogether as occurs in some cases. In this direction there may be some scope for differentiating

the coins if they were tested more frequently than once for each main issue, and I think investigation along those lines would afford the most promising results.

My thanks are due to the British Museum for the splendid casts used for the illustrations, and specially to the Keeper of the Coin and Medal Department for permission to use the Museum's coins for Figures 4, 7, 11, and 12. The other illustrations are from coins in my own cabinet.

SOME NOTES ON AUSTRALASIAN CURRENCIES

By FRANCIS GARDNER (*of Melbourne, Australia*)

IN submitting these notes to you on Australasian currencies, as they were then, I am going back to the very early times, for the reason that I am not aware to what extent the members of the British Numismatic Society are interested in the various Australian currencies, nor of what has already been put before them. The period extends well over a hundred years, and in that time Australia has to be settled, to grow and to be formed into colonies, and finally into the states of the Commonwealth and the Dominion of New Zealand. The people have had to struggle with nature in its wildest state, to evolve currencies, build up governments to control them, and finally, with the consent of our Imperial rulers, to establish mints and supply a currency of their own similar to that of Great Britain of to-day.

From the time of the practical discovery of Australia by Captain Cook, who took possession of the continent, in the name of King George III, in 1770, no steps were taken towards a settlement until the arrival of the expedition of Capt. Arthur Phillip, R.N., when after a passage of exactly thirty-six weeks from Portsmouth (Tench), there landed on 26 January 1788 on the present site of Sydney 1,030 persons of whom nearly 700 were convicts.¹

Naturally there was very little money used during the first few years after the arrival of the "first fleet", the majority of dealings being arranged by barter, and people living in the eighteenth century were forced back to the earliest forms of trading, commodities such as rum, corn, meat, and other marketable produce being in high favour for the settlement of claims, while Spanish dollars, what few there were, were also recognized.

The first form of barter (according to Governor Phillip's journal) was established at Parramatta (New South Wales), the settlers giving small quantities of rice or bread in exchange for fish, of which the natives caught more than they required for immediate use. For many years this unsatis-

¹ See Coleman P. Hyman, *Coins, Coinages, and Currency of Australasia*.

factory state of things continued, due in a great measure to the state of the British coinage which was amended by Act of Parliament passed in June 1816. The new money was not however issued until 3 February 1817, and even then did not reach Australia till much later.

In the meantime rum, wheat, flour, and animal food were used in exchange. Rum, which formed a portion of the cargo of every vessel that arrived, was the principal commodity used, in fact the period was, and is still, referred to as that of the 'Rum Currency'. Rum paid for everything. It was even used as a reward to bring offenders to justice. Its value varied according to its scarcity or plenty. Gradually, however, the number of English coins that had been in use increased and in addition many foreign coins that had come into the country were used as currency, the value at first being somewhat arbitrarily left to the estimation of the holder, which was not always a satisfactory one. On 19 November 1800 His Excellency the Governor of New South Wales, Philip Gidley King, issued a proclamation which fixed the rates at which the various coins should pass in that colony. They were as follows:

Table of Specie: One Guinea—£1.2.0; A Johanna¹ £4; $\frac{1}{2}$ Johanna £2; Ducat 9/6; Gold Mohur £1.17.6; Pagoda 8/-; Spanish Dollar 5/-; Rupee 2/6; Dutch Guilder 2/-; English Shilling 1/1; English copper coin of one ounce 2d.

About the same time the position was considerably relieved by the arrival of His Majesty's armed vessel *Porpoise* with a shipment of English copper coin, which, it was stated under the same proclamation, "Will be circulated by being paid for grain and animal foods supplied to His Majesty's stores".² This consisted largely of the English pence struck by Boulton, of Birmingham, dated 1797, and weighing an ounce. They were to pass current in the colony, and to circulate at the rate of 2d. There were also included twopenny pieces, halfpence, and farthings, and it has been stated that these also passed at double the rate of the original value, that is, for fourpence, a penny,

¹ These were gold pieces struck for Johannes V of Portugal, generally known in New South Wales as "Johannas". In the West Indies these coins previously circulated under the name "Joes".

² See Proclamation, Hyman, p. 21.

and halfpenny, though it was not so declared in the proclamation.

There was always a varying quantity of Spanish dollars, which later and for a time were looked upon as currency in both New South Wales and Tasmania. In 1792 the supply was augmented by two chests of these coins of an estimated value of £1,001. But the rage was for rum, and it has been said there was nothing the people would not do for rum. Dollars were needed to pay the ship masters for the goods imported into the country, with the result that at times they became scarce.

Promissory Notes. The necessity of meeting the shortage of currency at this period led to the introduction of promissory notes issued by traders. Prior to that, what were known as store receipts, "paymasters bills", or "other good bills", were current. These were issued in connexion with the military officers, who seldom paid in specie and had always been permitted to issue these notes. But I refer to the general currency as used among traders. They were at first just notes of hand, but this led to fraud in the form of forgeries which at this time were very numerous, and a bench of magistrates employed an entire sitting inquiring "into the numerous petty forgeries lately poured upon the public".¹ The amount for which these notes were issued were quoted at 5s. 8d., 7s., 10s., 9s. 6d., 11s. 7d., 15s. 2d., and so on. This led to the enforcement of a regulation that all promissory notes should be printed.

The printed notes were issued in various forms and sizes from $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ inches upwards, and came into extensive use both in Tasmania and New South Wales, the amounts varying from threepence, sixpence, and upwards, payable in sterling or "currency" or in Spanish dollars. The last named, as far as traders were concerned, seemed to have been in more common use in Tasmania than in the elder colony until 1817, when the Bank of New South Wales was established and issued notes in Spanish dollars of one, three, five, ten, and twenty dollars.

The traders' promissory notes were redeemable in "sterling" or "currency", that is, whatever current coin was stipulated in the note, such as "copper coin", or dollars, or the notes of another or of other issuers. The following is the

¹ Hyman, p. 36.

text of a note issued in 1813, which is among the exhibits in the Melbourne Public Library:

Sydney March 27th 1813

John Hutchinson

Two Shillings and Sixpence

I promise to pay to bearer the sum of
Two shillings and sixpence in Copper
Coin, on Demand.

2s. 6d.

J. Hutchinson.

Another from New South Wales reads:

61 George Street

No 34 Sydney

April 20th 1813

I Promise to pay Walter Wynne or bearer
One & six-pence.

On demand in Colonial Currency

1s. 6d.

W. J. Speed.

Another from Tasmania reads:

Hobart Town July 1st 1823

One Shilling

On demand I promise to pay bearer

One shilling

Value received

Payable in Spanish dollars at 5s. each

W. Lamb

Another from Tasmania reads:

Hobart Town, 12th July 1826. On demand I promise
to pay bearer threepence in Spanish dollars at 5/- each.
Thos. Stace, Liverpool Street.

In most cases these notes were badly printed and on a very poor paper. Many were probably worn out or torn up and never presented for payment and were a source of profit to their issuers.

In 1816 the issue of currency notes was legally abolished by a proclamation issued in that year, though it was deemed expedient to authorize the circulation of sterling money, or promissory notes, for the payment of the same in sterling value and amount only. The issue and circulation of small

promissory notes continued until 1826 when notes for sums of less than twenty shillings sterling were prohibited.

"*Holey Dollars*" and "*Dumps*". The greatest difficulty that had faced the different governors and the community in connexion with the establishment of local currency with coinage received into the country was the prevention of its re-exportation, a problem that had already faced other British colonies, and it fell to the lot of Governor Macquarie to overcome it. This he did by the introduction of what were afterwards known as "*Ring*" or "*Holey Dollars*" and "*Dumps*".

A special shipment of Spanish dollars had arrived in 1810, and later he decided upon the expedient of striking or cutting out a piece of silver from the centre of the dollar, and utilizing the remaining part as one coin, and the piece so removed as another. The larger portion or outside ring was made passable for 5s., and the smaller piece at the value of 1s. 3d., so that Governor Macquarie got 6s. 3d. for the dollar otherwise worth 5s., and which probably cost him 4s.

Quoting freely from the proclamation of 1 July 1813, "His Excellency hath thought proper to direct", &c., "that each and every small circular piece of silver on one side of which is impressed the figure of a crown, the words New South Wales above such impression, and the figures 1813 beneath the same, and on the obverse are impressed the words 'Fifteen Pence', and having the edge thereof grained, shall be current within the territory for the sum of Fifteen Pence of lawful money of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, of English value and currency". Further, it is ordered and directed that "every such larger piece of Silver being the remaining part of every such dollar, on the upper part of one side of which are impressed at its inner rim the words 'Five Shillings', and at the lower part of the said rim, on the same side, is also impressed the figure of a branch of Laurel" (there are really two branches of laurel on the Holey dollar) "and on the reverse side etc., the words New South Wales, and at the lower part of the same rim the figures 1813, the edge of the inner rim being grained on both sides, shall be current etc., for the sum of five Shillings". It was further directed that "from and after the 30th day of September 1813 next ensuing, all animal food and grain of every description and all other articles of

trade and merchandise received into His Majesty's stores in any part of this territory . . . will be paid for in the above described silver money".¹ Strict regulations were passed to prevent the exportation of these coins from Sydney. At that time and until 1853, Van Dieman's Land, as Tasmania was then called, was a dependency of New South Wales, and a circulation of Holey Dollars and Dumps was extended to that colony. So in this wise and under such conditions what is described by Mr. Gill as the first Australian coinage was introduced.

But the purpose for which these coins were called into being was well served, and in 1822 their reign as currency showed signs of coming to an end. In that year a notice was published in the *Sydney and Hobart Town Gazette* to the effect that the quarter dollars or dumps if presented at the Commissariat Office of Sydney or Hobart Town² within six weeks would be received. The value fell, and they were finally withdrawn from circulation in 1829.

The above is the general description of these two coins which are almost unique in their way, but as the result of wear, breakage, and so forth, fresh dies became a necessity and were made, resultant variations occurring such as differences in the relative position and length of the words "Five Shillings" to each other in the dollars; and in the dumps in the size of the dumps four of which are 19 mm. in diameter, two of 20 mm., and one of 18 mm. The size and character of the crown vary, as do the position of 'N' and 'S' in the words New South Wales; other variations occur in the length of the words themselves, and in the absence or presence of stops. Holey dollars are scarce and dumps seldom met with except in collections.

Copper Tokens. The earlier arrival of English money in gold and silver had been of considerable assistance to the public in all the colonies, but as time went on and the population increased a shortage developed in coins of small values, such as threepenny pieces, and became acute in the case of pence and halfpence, from about 1847 onwards until 1863, when it was relieved by the new bronze coinage of

¹ Full Proclamation reprinted by Hyman, *Coins, Coinage, and Currency*, p. 53 et seq.

² This appeared first as "Six months", but the error was corrected later to "Six weeks".

1860. In my young days I can remember being told how purchasers of groceries and other goods were obliged to "take out their change", as the shopkeepers put it, in some small or inexpensive article which they often did not want, in lieu of the coppers due to them. Tradesmen's carts were not so plentiful as now, ready to call for orders, and the "marketing" was mostly done by housewives themselves or servants, as it was permissible to call them in those days, so that the inconvenience can easily be imagined.

It was this inconvenience to both storekeepers and the public, common to all the colonies, that induced two of the business firms to introduce copper tokens as a substitute for the regal pence and halfpence. To the shopkeepers it was a source of expense as well, and in Melbourne it often cost them from sixpence to a shilling in the £ for their Saturday night's supply. In Sydney when the scarcity was more pronounced, the loss was sometimes a shilling to two shillings in the £.

This resulted in two of their number, Messrs. Annand, Smith & Co. of Melbourne, Victoria, and, a little later, Messrs. Peek & Campbell of Sydney, quite independently of each other, deciding to issue their own coppers. Those of Annand, Smith & Co. were undated, but Peek & Campbell's bore the date of 1852. For many years the latter firm was credited with having issued the first copper tokens in Australia. However, this was not the case, as in 1910 I discovered from a paragraph in the *Melbourne Argus* of 20 October 1849 that the honour was due to Annand, Smith & Co. The paragraph reads as follows: "To obviate the extreme inconvenience occasioned by the scarcity of coppers, particularly by the grocers who have not unfrequently to pay a premium of from sixpence to a shilling in the pound for their Saturday night's supply, Mr. Councillor Annand has had coined at Birmingham, a large supply of penny pieces, having on one side the figure of Britannia, and on the obverse the inscription 'Annand Smith & Co. family grocers. Melbourne'."¹

But Annand, Smith & Co.'s tokens (both issues) were struck by Heaton & Sons, Birmingham (Eng.), and those of Peek & Campbell by J. C. Thornthwaite, of Sydney, so that, though the latter were not the first tokens issued, they were

¹ See also Dr. A. Andrews, *Australasian Tokens and Coins*.

the first Australian-made tokens issued in Australia. Like all innovations in small communities, and such was Melbourne at that time, these tokens attracted a great deal of attention. Mr. Annand was a city councillor and a well-known business man, and as such had to stand some slight heckling from the journal supporting "the other side". Among other things it accused him of imitating the current coin of the realm, and referred to the "cheap method of advertising by a certain grocery firm in this town" and that they (*Daily News*) were in a position to state that proceedings had already been commenced against him for "uttering and putting off the coins alluded to". All interesting, but nothing happened. The *Argus* was right, as the following extract from that journal of 14 January 1850 shows: "Copper Coins" "These useful articles continue to be exceedingly scarce. The supply imported by Annand, Smith & Co. has been all exhausted, these gentlemen inform us that so highly was the accommodation afforded by these appreciated, that they had application for them not only from all quarters of Melbourne, but also from Geelong¹ and other distant places". That these tokens were extensively used is undoubted as it is very difficult to get a good specimen, the obverse of most being worn very nearly smooth by continual use.

To numismatists and historians Australian trade tokens are most interesting, for those still in existence form indelible pages in the history of the Commonwealth of Australia and Dominion of New Zealand, and an undying record of the names of men who established its trade and in no small way helped to build up its future importance.

Some of them were among our early legislators, and included Mr. James Campbell, Morpeth, N.S.W., Mr. George Annand, Mr. John Andrew, Mr. A. Davidson, Melbourne; others held less important posts, such as city councillor, as Mr. O. Fenwick, or were founders of large mercantile concerns² such as G. & W. H. Rocke (W. H. Rocke & Co. Pty. Ltd.), Levy Bros. (Levy Bros. Successors Pty. Ltd.), Thos. Stokes (Stokes & Son Pty. Ltd.), and Moubray, Lush & Co. (Hicks, Aitkinson & Sons Pty. Ltd.). There were many who did no more than look after their businesses and do their

¹ Geelong is only 45 miles from Melbourne, but in the early days of bush roads, 45 miles was a long journey.

² In existence at the present time.

duty as valuable citizens in either the cities or country towns.

The tokens were mostly of copper, a few of brass, and some of bronze, in size about that of the English coins, and in weight slightly lighter on the whole at an average of about 260 grains, the halfpence being in proportion. Bronze was used in later years and in some cases the weight and size were so reduced as to cause them to be rejected by the public, leaving them a loss on the hands of their issuers. The designs and workmanship I consider good though not quite equal to the English tokens. Many show artistic merit, but the bulk of them bear only the names, trades, and addresses of the issuers on the obverse.

Among the reverses (though at the time no official arms had been allotted to Australia), what are usually termed the "Australian Arms" are common, and it is remarkable how closely the various designs resemble each other. They usually appear as a shield surmounted by a rising sun, on either side are a kangaroo and emu as supporters. The shield bears a cross on which are five stars representing the five colonies; beneath a riband with the words "Advance Australia" (or the colony or city). The arms are Quarterly, (1) a golden fleece, (2) a ship, (3) an ox or whale, (4) a wheat-sheaf or anchor—but they vary in detail. The arms on our Commonwealth silver were probably developed from these, but they lack beauty and execution and the supporters are far from natural in appearance. Another very common type is what is termed the figure of "Justice" with a ship on one side and a cornucopia on the other. This, I maintain, was designed to represent "Commerce" rather than "Justice". There are few heraldic designs, local objects being adopted such as birds, the kiwi (N.Z.), the kangaroo, or emu; mountain or lake scenes, tools of trade, shops or buildings were also used.

The number of varieties extends to some 650, and the number of issuers in each colony is as follows: Victoria 61, New Zealand 46, New South Wales 23, Tasmania 18, Queensland 12, and West Australia 2. The large number of tokens and varieties put out by some of the issuers is also worth noting. For instance, T. Stokes of Melbourne issued at least 50 varieties; H. J. Hall, Christchurch, New Zealand, 21; O. Hedburg, Hobart, Tasmania, 17; R. Parker, Geelong,

Smith Peate & Co., and Whitty & Brown, Sydney, 15 each; and John Henderson, Freemantle, West Australia, 9. I have referred to the demand that the first issue met with, but after the discovery of gold in Victoria, New South Wales, and New Zealand, the population increased very rapidly, particularly in Victoria, until 1863. This was no doubt the reason for the numerous varieties issued by Thomas Stokes, who, in 1862, it is said, would occasionally receive an order for a half or one hundredweight of penny tokens at a time from the Hobson's Bay Railway Co., to be delivered at once. In addition, this may account for the great number of mules or mixed dies and upsets¹ that are found among his tokens as the result of hurried production.

Gold and Silver Tokens. Gold tokens—if such they may be called—were struck in Adelaide, South Australia, in 1852. The first few were in the form of ingots, followed by the £1 pieces, and were generally known as the Adelaide Sovereigns. They were intended to assist in overcoming a very serious position caused by the then recent “discovery of gold in the neighbouring colony, not only attracting a large portion of the population, but by a drain upon the current coin of the colony to purchase that gold”. The ingots were oblong in shape, each being stamped with its actual weight and its equivalent weight in standard gold. Very few were struck, and I only know of the existence of four specimens, one in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, one in the Melbourne Public Library collection, one, I believe, in the British Museum, and one in the collection of Mr. H. W. Taffs.

The issue of £5, £2, and £1, and 10s. pieces was proposed, and dies were prepared for the £5 and £1 pieces. Of the former only six were struck; of those there is one in the Melbourne Public Library collection. The number of £1 pieces struck is given as 24,648. They were heavier than the British sovereign and their intrinsic worth was £1 1s. 10d. The design is rather a pleasing one, though they lack the profile of Her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria. There are two varieties. In the first die a crack developed and another was substituted. The obverse has a crown in the centre with the date 1852 within a crenellated circle. Inside a dotted circle, and between that and the beaded rim

¹ Collectors here, as a rule, ignore upsets as distinct varieties, though they are used in description.

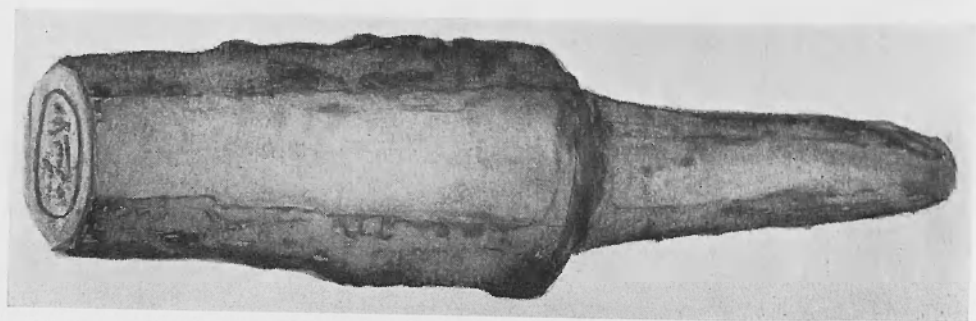
"Government Assay Office, Adelaide". The reverse has the words "value (£1) one pound". Within a crenellated circle and a dotted circle and the beaded rim the words "weight, 5 dwt. 15 grs. 22 carats".

Gold tokens were also struck at Melbourne dated 1853, but only as proofs. They were of four denominations. Two-ounce, one-ounce, half-ounce, and quarter-ounce, and they are known as Port Phillip Australian Pattern Pieces. As a circulating medium their size made them impossible, while in addition, before the machinery could be set up for their production, a sufficient supply of gold coinage had arrived from England, making them unnecessary. Several specimens of each are known.

Silver Tokens. The first Australian silver tokens were issued in Tasmania by McIntosh & Degraives and are dated 1823. They are described as being made of pure silver, and of the size of an English shilling. Very few were issued, and there is some doubt as to whether they were issued for currency or only as a commemorative medal. They are exceedingly scarce.

In New South Wales several silver tokens were struck and issued by J. C. Thornthwaite and Hogarth & Erichsen of Sydney. J. C. Thornthwaite also struck a silver token for issue by Mr. Campbell, Morpeth, New South Wales. They consisted of threepenny pieces and one of fourpence, issued by Hogarth & Erichsen & Co.; there are eight varieties.

Pattern shillings and a halfpenny were also issued from the Kangaroo Office, Melbourne, from dies made by W. J. Taylor, but about these, as about the Victorian gold pieces referred to, there is very little reliable information beyond the fact that proofs exist as do later restrikes from the old dies in various metals.



THE DIE FOR STEPHEN'S COINAGE IN THE GUILDHALL MUSEUM

THE DIE FOR STEPHEN'S COINAGE IN THE GUILD-
HALL MUSEUM, AND SECONDARY EVIDENCE
THERE OF AN UNPUBLISHED PENNY OF
HENRY I

By W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

IN the City of London's Museum at the Guildhall is an original die for Stephen's first coinage and, as such, I believe it to be the earliest English die that has survived to us. If I am right in so styling it, the fact that I can find no reference to, nor paper upon it in any numismatic or archaeological publication, is remarkable, the more so because for nearly thirty years it has been illustrated in the Museum Catalogue for all to see. The catalogue, too, is one of the most widely read by students of English antiquities, because it describes many thousands of relics found in the city, and illustrates more than one thousand of them.

I have heard the die conversationally referred to as probably that of a contemporary forger, but, as we shall presently see, this is not so, and the mistake has possibly arisen from its illustration in the catalogue, where, to show the face, the die is so foreshortened that the spike is hidden from view. This gives it the appearance of the upper, or trussel, die, whereas it has the full spike, and is of course the standard. Had it been a trussel die, the fact that it displays the obverse type, which is of course that found on the standard, would lay it open to grave suspicion.

Its description in the catalogue¹ is as follows:

"Die, steel, for striking the obverse of a penny of Stephen, bust to right, bearing sceptre, inscribed STIĒFN—R(E)X;" [but see correction of this later] "3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in." [see correction later] "l., 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. diam. Pl. XCIX, 1." [found in] "*Little Bell Alley*".

By the courtesy of Mr. J. L. Douthwaite, the Curator and Librarian to the City of London, I have been allowed to take a drawing of the die and I have also made an enlarged drawing from an impression struck from it to show the details of the inscription and type. (Plate.)

¹ 1908 Cat., p. 291, No. 76.

From these it will be seen that the correct and complete legend is **✠STIEFNE**, that the letter N has its central line sloped upwards instead of downwards, that the last six letters are rather crowded together in front of the face and, finally, that the usual inner circle is entirely absent. The general type is, of course, that of Stephen's first coinage which I believe was issued from about Easter 1136 to Easter 1142—a rather long issue of one type for that period. But in various papers in this journal I have ventured to subdivide the type into three consecutive classes, which are easily distinguished by their shortening legends. The first, in mixed English and Latin and bad English spelling, gives us **✠STIFNE REX** in full and has the inner circle. The second, still in mixed languages, but better English, reads **✠STIEFNE R**, or rarely **RE**, and retains the inner circle. The third discards the Latin title altogether in reading merely **✠STIEFNE**, and at first has the inner circle, then traces of it, and finally none at all, as in the case of the die under discussion.

It was not unusual, or significant, to drop the regal title at this period. Henry I, for instance, had done so on several of his coinages after he had been twenty years on the throne, and Stephen continued the omission, as also that of the inner circle, on most of the coins of his later types. That this is the latest form of Stephen's first coinage is definitely proved by the fact that it is found "muled" with his second issue, the obverse die in this case bearing this inscription and no trace of any inner circle.

So the die under review is of the very latest variety of Stephen's first coinage, and as such must have been made in 1141, or before Easter 1142. During part of this period, namely 2 February—1 November 1141, Stephen was interned as a captive, after his defeat by Matilda's party at the Battle of Lincoln, but the fact that the royal title is omitted is probably a coincidence as it appears to have been dropped before that event.

The form of N with the central line sloped upwards (N) was a very natural error for a die-sinker to make when punching the retrograde inscription into the die, and the form was very common in the Middle Ages, occurring on carved furniture, &c., even as late as the reign of Queen Anne. It is in evidence on London coins of Henry I, and in Stephen's reign we find it occasionally on Matilda's coinage, on the Scottish

coinage, and on several types of the irregular English issues, but, with one exception, it never appears on any of Stephen's official money.

The die before us was found in Little Bell Alley which, Mr. Douthwaite informs me, is now part of Copthall Avenue, Moorgate, following the course of the covered-in Walbrook in the City of London. We may therefore assume that it was a London moneyer's die. It is an interesting coincidence that the only coin extant of Stephen's official coinage that bears this irregular $\mathfrak{N}$ should also be a London penny of Stephen's first general coinage. It reads $\star$ STIFIE REX, reverse $\star$ ADELARD:ON:LVN, and is therefore of my first subdivision of the general type, and is consequently from a die made five years earlier than this one. Yet the $\mathfrak{N}$ is used in the King's name, as here, and not in that of the mint.

In numismatics we have only to describe a coin as unique for another to be promptly produced; in the Montagu Catalogue, to take an extreme example, one lot is described as unique, and the following lot as similar to the last, so it may be that a silver penny from the die before us does exist, and has escaped the thousands of Stephen's coins that I have noted from my youth up. But as the proportion of money of the twelfth century that we now have is as nothing to that originally issued, I did not expect to be able to identify a coin from this die.

As to the hypothetical suggestion that this might possibly have been the die of a contemporary forger, there is ample evidence to the contrary. We have seen that it is a standard die and true to type, and that the unusual $\mathfrak{N}$ does occur, on the obverse also, on a London penny of the same general coinage. The crowding of the letters to the right of the design is present on examples of both the London and Winchester mints of this variety. The diameter of the outer circle, and therefore of the coin to be struck, is exactly three-quarters of an inch which is correct for this late issue of the type, and, finally, a point which I think is conclusive, microscopic examination proves that the die was punched with official irons. Apart from this, no forger of that time would trouble to make a standard die to be set in a big block of wood for all who wished to see, nor would he temper it to steel, for he could hardly expect to produce a large quantity of coins without the risk of detection, with its drastic punishment.

Further, no forger could or would have cut the numerous tiny punches necessary to make this die. The cuneator's art was then a hereditary trade-secret, and necessitated the cutting and tempering of many minute punches which would be far beyond a forger's skill, and unnecessary when castings from a genuine coin would be sufficient for his fraud, and this die is punched, not cut, or cast.

As I believe it to be our earliest English money-die it deserves some general consideration. In the Catalogue it is described as only $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches long, but this was measured without the spike which is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, making the total length $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches. It is octagonal throughout, which is unusual, and the whole, except the face, is corroded. The face would be tempered to steel by the old blacksmith's method of heating to red-heat, and then plunging in cold water, and this has protected its polished surface. The face itself is also octagonal, perfectly smooth and flat; and varying from $1\frac{1}{8}$ to $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter according to whether measured across the sides or corners. As the design upon it is only three-quarters of an inch across there is therefore a perfectly flat margin of about a quarter of an inch around it. I stress this because we know that coins had long been struck within a circular metal collar upon the standard die, to prevent the metal of the coin from spreading beyond the design. Until Henry I's time this collar had been close-fitting, leaving the coin round and neat, but it seems to have been gradually expanded until under Stephen's troubles the impress of the collar upon the edges of his coins shows that it then only fitted where the metal spread to touch it. Probably a loose collar expedited production. We should therefore have expected to see a groove in the margin, or the edge of the die circular and rabbeted, to hold the collar. A standard die for the seal of Southampton in my possession is only a few years later, and is carefully rabbeted all round for its collar. But evidently this method was not yet in force, and the collar used with this die must have rested quite loosely upon it, and have been adjusted to the design as each coin was struck.

The standard die, as we have seen, bore the obverse design and was set in a block of wood, probably waist-high, by its spike; but the trussel die was held in the hand by a twisted willow thong to ease the vibration during the striking. It

received the full shock of the hammering, and so wore out much sooner than the standard ; in fact, statistics and records suggest that one standard lasted as long as two trussels. This, I have always contended, explains our "muled" coins. In the stress of a new general recoinage it would be impossible for the cuneator to supply all the dies to the many mints at once, and if the trussel which bore the name of the moneyer and his mint, was delivered to him first it was evidence that he had paid his fees for the new coinage (which was the whole purport of the change). There could be no fiscal objection, therefore, to his using it with his old standard die until his pair was completed. Hence we find occasional "mules" of most mints, and this is why the reverse design is always, or practically always, of the later coinage, for it is from the trussel die.

Although Mr. Douthwaite has most kindly searched the Museum records for me, he can find no further information of the die than that given in the Catalogue. All we know, therefore, is that it was found in Little Bell Alley, and we may safely assume that it was dug up there. That it should have been thus separated from its mint and buried, hidden, or lost invites our speculation. It would have been in use in 1141 and in April or May of that year, Stephen being then in captivity, his rival the Empress Matilda entered London in state to await her coronation, which was intended to take place at Westminster on 24 June. No doubt at this time loyal moneyers of London removed, and probably hid their dies from the mint, for we may hazard the guess that all Stephen's dies would have been promptly destroyed, and those of the Empress and her party substituted. If this were the case it would account for the burial of this die in Little Bell Alley, where perhaps the moneyer lived.

SECONDARY EVIDENCE OF A COIN OF ONE OF HENRY I'S RAREST TYPES

There are other exhibits of numismatic interest in the Guildhall Museum, including three dies for the shillings of James I, but there is one little relic that appeals especially to numismatists. It is described in the Catalogue¹ as

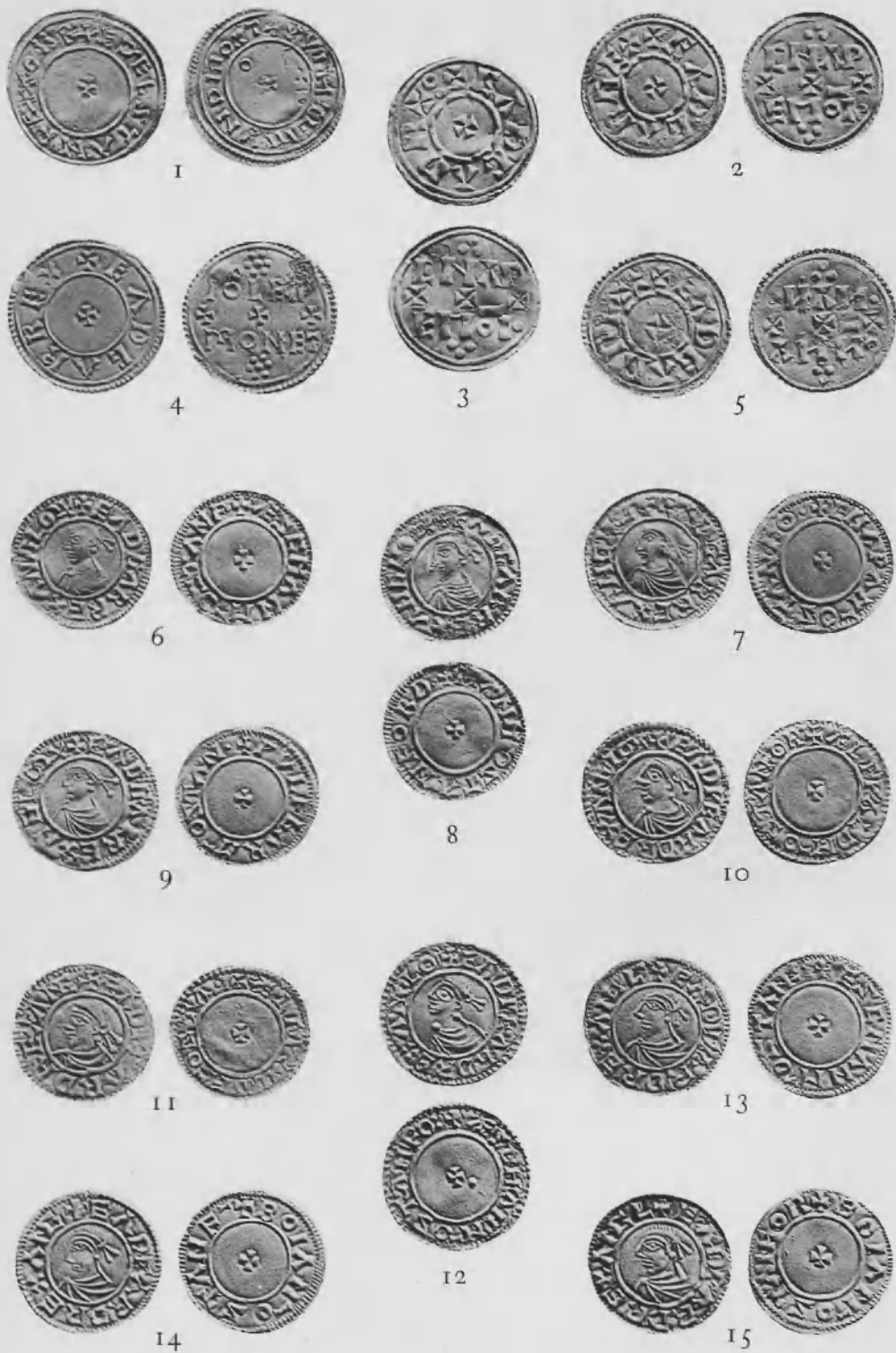
"Brooch, brass, repoussé, representing the reverse of a penny of Henry II" [see later] "bearing the moneyer's

¹ 1908 edition, p. 126, No. 9.

34 *The Die for Stephen's Coinage in the Guildhall Museum*
mark GOTPINE ON GLOPCI; $\frac{7}{8}$ in. diam." [found in
"London"].

The attribution to Henry II, although wrong, is interesting because it suggests that the brooch was found very long ago, when the coins of Henry I and Henry II were confused and wrongly assigned. The object is of latten, impressed with the reverse of Henry I's very rare type (*Hawkins*, 266, Brooke's Type 6 in the Museum Catalogue, and Type 8 in my *Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I*), namely, a cross patteé upon a saltire terminating in tiny quatrefoils. Of this type I have been able to record only ten examples, and this adds another mint to the series. Its date would be between 1115 and 1120.

It is an exceptionally fine and clear impression, and the actual punching of the die by official irons is quite distinct. It was found in London, and the hereditary cuneator who made the dies was then Otto the Goldsmith of London; I am therefore inclined to think that it was a trial piece struck in latten from the original die, and then mounted as a brooch, perhaps for Otto's wife. It reads ✠GOTPINE: ON: GLOPCI: for Godwine of Gloucester. The spelling Gotwine, for Godwine, was not unusual at that period, and occurs, for instance, on the same type at Winchester.



COINS OF THE STAMFORD MINT
 ÆTHELSTAN, EADGAR, EADWEARD THE MARTYR

THE STAMFORD AND PETERBOROUGH MINTS

By WILLIAM C. WELLS

PART I

STAMFORD, the greater part of which now lies in Lincolnshire, originally consisted of two separate towns, one in Northamptonshire, known down to the fifteenth century as Stamford-south-of-the-river and afterwards as Stamford Baron,¹ Stamford-beyond-the-bridge, or Stamford St. Martin's, and the other in Lincolnshire; the two places being separated by the river Welland. By the time of the Domesday Survey, however, they had been united for local assessment purposes, but in other ways they were still distinct "burhs".² There appears to have been considerable jealousy between the two places, and in early documents we frequently read of quarrels and disturbances and even suits at law between the inhabitants of Stamford, Lincolnshire, and those of Stamford Baron, Northamptonshire.³

The place-name Stanford or Stamford is derived from Anglo-Saxon *Stan-ford*, "Stone-ford", denoting the stone paved-ford by which the river Welland was crossed prior to the erection of the bridge connecting the two Stamfords and also connecting the counties of Northampton and Lincoln. The earliest record of Stamford is of the year 449 when,

¹ It received that appellation about the middle of the fifteenth century, when the suffix was added probably on account of its being part of those lands which the Abbot of Burh held *per baroniam*.

² Richard Butcher, Town Clerk of Stamford, in his *Survey and Antiquitie of the Town of Stamford*, 1646, writing of his time says: "The Towne and Parish of Stamford-Baron, in the County of Northampton; a place though not subject to the Mace of Stamford government, yet joyned to the same in all Taxes, Subsidies, Fifteenths and other payments to the State amounting to a fifth part of a full mulct."

³ Madox, *Firma Burgi*, 1726, p. 95, says: "Moreover, sometimes there hath been a Division, and even a suit at Law between one part of a town, and another part of the same town. For example. In the 44th year of K. Henry III, Peter de Wakerlegh and five others who were Prince Edward's men in the town of Stamford, were attached to answer Wm. Davison and Wm. Reynerson who followed for the Abbot of Burgh's men of the same town, for that the Defendants caused the Plaintiff's to contribute with them and others who were the men of Prince Edward in that town, in tallages and other burdens payable by the said town beyond the sixth part of the said tallages and burdens contrary to a concord made before the barons of the Exchequer about that affair in the 27th year of K. Henry III."

according to the Venerable Bede,¹ the Saxons were invited over by Vortigern to defend his country against the Picts and Scots. The first battle after their arrival appears to have been fought in the neighbourhood of this ford across the Welland, and proved an entire defeat for the Picts and Scots. Henry of Huntingdon thus describes the fight: "The enemy advanced as far as Stanford . . . The Picts and Scots fought with spears and lances, but when the Saxons most furiously fell on with their axes and long swords, they immediately fled, unable to resist the weight of so fierce an attack." An almost identical account is given by Ranulf Higden in his *Polychronicon*. Trevisa in his translation of Higden's Chronicle says: "The enemys were come unto Stanford: where when the Pyctes and Scottes used long saftes and speares, the Saxons faughte with long swerdes and axes." Camden assumes from the mention of Stanford in the foregoing account, that a town existed there at the time of the battle, but no evidence is available in support of that assumption, and there can be little doubt that 'Stanford' referred to the ford only. It is, of course, possible that the ford being an important one, a small settlement existed on either side of the stream.

The Stamford mint has received considerable attention from several numismatists and historians, some of whom, including the Rev. Rogers Ruding,² Francis Peck, the Stamford annalist,³ and Samuel Sharp, a Northamptonshire numismatist and antiquary, located the mint at Stamford Baron, Northamptonshire.⁴ On the other hand, Mr. Andrew, in his *Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I*, published in 1901, maintains that the mint was situated in Stamford, Lincolnshire, and that allocation has been accepted by subsequent writers. The former writers base their allocation upon the assumption that the mint and all its moneymen belonged to the Abbot of Peterborough and upon the further assumption that at the time the mint was established, the abbot owned not only the surrounding land but that he also held all territorial rights within the *burh* of Stamford Baron.

¹ *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, sub anno.

² *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, 1840.

³ *Academia tertia Anglicana, or the Antiquarian Annals of Stamford*, 1727.

⁴ "The Stamford Mint", *Num. Chron.*, 1866.

My claim is that the mint was situated in Stamford Baron, Northamptonshire; that the locality of the mint did not depend upon the assumed territorial rights of the Abbot of Peterborough, within the *burh* of Stamford Baron; that the abbot did not hold territorial rights within Stamford Baron prior to the reign of Canute; that the abbot did not, in Anglo-Saxon times, hold the whole mint, but was granted one moneyer in the king's mint at Stamford Baron in the reign of Eadgar and a second one in the reign of Canute; that from the Norman Conquest onwards, the royal moneyers were withdrawn from the Stamford mint, leaving only the abbot's two moneyers working there; that from the year 1070 the abbot held the privilege of a mint and one moneyer within the abbey precincts at Peterborough,¹ and that he held the further privilege of employing one moneyer alternatively at Stamford or at Peterborough, according to his discretion and convenience. These claims I shall endeavour to sustain by the production of historical and of contemporary documentary evidence, as well as the evidence provided by the coins struck in the Stamford and Peterborough mints.

Those who affirm that the mint was situated in Stamford, Lincolnshire, are probably influenced by the assumption that, as Stamford Baron now forms an addendum or suburb of the Lincolnshire Stamford, similar conditions prevailed in the tenth century when the mint was founded. Such, however, was not the case. Stamford, Northamptonshire, was then the only Saxon *burh* of that name. The Lincolnshire Stamford on the opposite side of the Welland was a Danish town situated in the Danelagh, one of the "Five Burhs", governed by Danish laws and beyond the direct control of the West-Saxon king.² Moreover, a revolt of the

¹ This would be quite in accordance with the law of Æthelstan (see p. 48 *post*), for the Peterborough *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells us that in the reign of Eadgar the abbey was surrounded by a stone wall, thus constituting it a *burh*. See also p. 51 *post*.

² Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. i, p. 64, writing of the recovery of the "Five Burhs" by Eadmund says: "A poetical entry in the *Chronicles* vividly paints the delight of their English inhabitants at their deliverance from the yoke of their heathen masters", and in a footnote he adds: "The words of the *Chronicle* may lead us to think that Eadward accepted the submission of the Confederation and built forts to keep the towns from rebellion, without interfering with their internal administration. A Danish aristocracy may therefore have existed down to the deliverance by Eadmund, holding the former English inhabitants in more or less of subjection."

inhabitants of the Danish Stamford was always a possibility, and that fact alone would be sufficient, apart from other considerations, to induce the West-Saxon authorities to establish the mint in the southern Stamford and not in the Danish town opposite. The latter would, however, enjoy all the advantages accruing from the immediate proximity of a mint, while the mint itself would derive the full benefit afforded by the protection of the English fortified town.



FIG. 1. DANISH IMITATIONS OF ANGLO-SAXON PENNIES, *Temp.* ÆTHELSTAN-EADGAR. (W. C. Wells.)

If coins were struck at all in the Danish town, they would be of the class similar to those struck in other Danish burhs in imitation of pennies issued by the contemporary West-Saxon kings from Æthelstan to Eadgar, but bearing unintelligible inscriptions.

THE BUILDING OF THE BURH AT STAMFORD BARON

Prior to the year 916, Watling Street formed the boundary between the West-Saxon kingdom and the Danelagh. In that year Eadweard the Elder refortified Towcester, and Thurferth, the Danish jarl of Northampton, who held control as far north as the river Welland, fearing an attack upon Northampton, surrendered, together with his "army", to Eadweard. The version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in the



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Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, describes the incident as follows:

"Thurferth jarl and the holds, and all the army which owed obedience to [North]amtune, north as far as the Welland, submitted to him [Eadweard], and sought him for their lord and protector."¹

In the following year, 917, Eadweard had forced the re-treating Danes across the Welland and had thus established a new boundary line between the West-Saxon kingdom and the Danelagh. The Danes made a stand at their settlement on the north side of the river where they fortified their position. Eadweard did not attempt to follow up his advantage by forcing them farther north but accepted the new frontier line and established a *burh* or fortified town on the south bank of the river, in Northamptonshire, in order to watch the Danish town on the opposite side and to keep the enemy in check. The Corpus Christi College version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* thus describes the building of the *burh* at Stamford Baron and the subsequent surrender of

¹ This account is given in manuscript A, which, as is shown below, is apparently five years out in its dating. Hence the date of Thurferth's submission would be 916, and not 921 as given in the *Chronicle*.

The earliest mention we have of Northampton is in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, where we read that "The army rode out after Easter from [North-] Hamtun and from Leicester, and broke the peace and slew many men at Hocneratun [Hockerton?] and thereabouts." The various versions of the *Chronicle*, however, do not agree as to the date of this, and, consequently, other occurrences at Northampton. Manuscript A (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge) gives the date as A.D. 917, while manuscripts B (Cottonian MS. "Tiberius A, vi"), C (Cottonian MS. "Tiberius B, i"), and D (Cottonian MS. "Tiberius B, iv"), give the date as A.D. 914; and the latter date is given also by Florence of Worcester. Sir Charles Oman, *England Before the Norman Conquest*, p. 499, says: "The jarls of Northampton and Leicester who, soon after Easter (apparently of 912), broke the peace, &c.," and in a footnote he says: "Though the Wessex version of the *A.-S.C.* gives the date 917, having no news of King Edward since the time of the fortification of Hertford, in the year which it calls 913, but which is really 911. There are no entries of the king's doings in 914-15-16; and then we get the outbreak of the Northampton and Leicester Danes ascribed to 917. There was really no such pause in King Edward's activity, and the doings ascribed to him in 917-18-19 are really those of 912-13-14. Florence of Worcester and Ethelweard are much more nearly right, but the former is one year out, by counting too late. That Ethelweard correctly gets the Danish raid on the Bristol Channel into 913 is proved by the fact that he casually mentions that Christmas Day in the next year fell on Sunday, which was the fact in 914." The Danish raid on the Bristol Channel occurred the year after the outbreak of the Northampton and Leicester Danes.

the Danes belonging to the *burh* on the north or Lincolnshire side of the river:

"In this year between Rogations [19-21 May] and Midsummer, king Eadweard went with a force to Stamford, and commanded the *burh* to be wrought on the south side of the river [i.e. the Northamptonshire side]; and all the people who belonged to the northern *burh* submitted to him, and sought him for their lord. And while he was there sitting, Æthelflæd his sister died at Tamworth, twelve nights before Midsummer."¹

This outward show of submission to the West-Saxon king lasted until the year 941, the year after the death of Æthelstan and the accession of Eadmund, who appears to have attempted to bring the north under his immediate rule instead of resting content with the bare submission of the people and leaving them to manage their own affairs. The northern people revolted and elected Anlaf Guthfrithson as their king. The revolt spread to the confederacy of the "Five Burhs". Anlaf with his Northumbrian army, which had been reinforced by the fighting men of the "Five Burhs" as he passed through the Danelagh, marched south as far as Northampton, probably anticipating a good reception from the inhabitants of the latter place, many of whom

¹ This account is extracted from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MS. A. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where it is recorded under the year 922 but, as I have shown on p. 39, this manuscript is five years out in its reckoning at this period. The actual date of the building of the *burh* at Stamford Baron is further proved by the fact that it coincided with the death of Æthelflæd, which occurred certainly in 917. Matthew of Westminster under the year 914 states that Elflæda, or Æthelflæda, countess of the Mercians, rebuilt Tamworth; afterwards proceeding at Stamford to rebuild the tower on the south side of the river Welland ("Elflæda Merciorum domina burgum Thamewrth appellatum restauravit. Deinde ad Stanfordiam progrediens in aquilonali plaga fluminis Weiloand turrin restauravit"). The *A.-S. Chronicle*, Florence of Worcester, and Simeon of Durham, however, show that Matthew of Westminster was in error, and that it was at Stafford and not at Stamford that Æthelflæd built a *burh*.

In the Northamptonshire *Victoria County History*, vol. ii, p. 522, it is suggested that although Stamford Baron appears to have had five gates (Webster-gate, Burleygate, and Highgate are frequently mentioned in old deeds), it was never walled. Yet it must have been defended by walls of some kind, probably earthen walls, or it would not have been a *burh*, for that appellation indicates that it was originally defended by earthen or other walls. Moreover, the medieval gates would have served little purpose without walls, unless a continuous row of houses or other structures were built close up to the moat and thus supplied the defensive purpose of walls.

were of Danish blood, but they remained loyal to the West-Saxon king, and when the Danish army attacked the town they were driven off with considerable loss. They then proceeded along Watling Street to Tamworth, where they were more successful; after which they proceeded to Leicester, where they were besieged by Eadmund. A peace was arranged and the war brought to an end on nearly the same terms as those that had been made by Ælfred and Guthrum. The kingdom was divided as before, but now the Welland and not Watling Street became the boundary between the West-Saxon kingdom and the Danelagh. The overlordship of the West-Saxon king was acknowledged and Anlaf was baptized, probably at Leicester, Eadmund standing godfather to him as Ælfred had stood to Guthrum.

The revival of the Danelagh did not last long, for Eadmund drove out both the Norse kings and brought the country into subjection. His conquest of Mercia and especially of the "Five Burghs" is celebrated in the following ballad preserved in the Winchester version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*:

“Here Eadmund king,
of Angles lord,
of his kin protector,
Mercia subdued,
dear deed-performer
as the Dore it bounds
and Whitwell’s gate,
and Humber’s river,
broad ocean stream.
Five towns,
Leicester
and Lincoln
and Nottingham,
so Stanford eke,
and Derby,
were erewhile Danish,
under the Northmen,
by need constrain’d
in heathen’s
captive bonds
for a long space,
until again released them,

through his worthiness,
 the warrior's refuge,
 Eadweard's offspring
 Eadmund king."¹

This song is inserted under 941, the year in which the Danish towns appear to have revolted, but the chronology of the war and the sequence of events is uncertain.

We find no further record of Stamford Baron until the year 1086 when, in the Domesday Survey, Stamford, Lincolnshire, and Stamford Baron were assessed together as one borough, and in *Domesday Book* we find the following entry relating thereto:

"The king's borough of Stamford paid tax in King Edward's time for twelve hundreds and half, towards paying the army, navy and Danegeld.

"There are six wards, five in Lincolnshire and the sixth in [North]Hantunshire, which is beyond the bridge. But nevertheless that ward paid all customs or dues with the rest except *gafol* and toll, which the abbot of Burh had and has."²

The abbot does not appear to have owned any houses or to have had any "men" in Stamford Baron at the time of the Great Survey, but forty years later, as we learn from the *Black Book of Peterborough*, the abbot had on his land in Stamford Baron, sixty tenants, forty-three of whom had land adjoining their houses and seventeen had no land adjoining their houses "and those are in Hamtunshire". There were also in Stamford Baron, fifteen undertenants.

THE BURGHAL SYSTEM

The system of building fortresses, or of fortifying existing towns against the invading Dane, commenced in the reign of Ælfred, was continued by Eadweard the Elder and by his warlike sister Æthelflæd as they pushed northward and eastward, capturing Danish towns, and building *burhs* to keep the enemy in check and for the protection of the inhabitants of the newly captured districts. These fortified

¹ In this, as elsewhere, I have followed Benjamin Thorpe's translation.

² It is stated by Bridges in his *History of Northamptonshire*, vol. ii, p. 578, that Stamford Baron is not mentioned in *Domesday*, but this is an error.

towns, having been created, had to be garrisoned and their earthen or stone walls kept in repair. These duties appear to have fallen upon the neighbouring thegns. To each stronghold, whether an old city like Rochester or Winchester, newly fortified, or a new fortress created, like Stamford Baron, for strategical reasons, there was allotted a district consisting of a certain number of hides¹ of land around the *burh* and this district was its shire. Each shire, large or small, had its *burh*, generally in its centre, and the *burh* gave its name to the shire. The thegns whose lands had been allotted for the defence of the *burh* must either reside there themselves or provide a competent fighting man as a substitute. These were the "burhware" of whom we read so much and who, as we are told in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,² were "those men whose duty it was to defend the burhs" and were distinct from the field army.

Hallam, writing of feudal tenures in Anglo-Saxon England, throws some light on the military service of the bishops and others in pre-Conquest times: "All the freehold lands of England except some of those belonging to the church, were subject to the three great public burdens: military service in the king's expeditions, or at least in defensive war; the repair of bridges, and the maintenance of royal fortresses." The *burg-bot* of which we also read a great deal, another duty from which no landowner was exempt, was the duty of the men of the shire to maintain the fortifications of the *burh*, the one *burh* of the shire. Stamford Baron being a royal fortress, from its institution in 917 down to 972, when Eadgar regranted the old monastic lands to the abbey of Peterborough, the duty of providing a garrison and of keeping the walls of the *burh* in repair, would be borne by the king's tenants residing in the small shire of Stamford Baron, but after the latter date those duties would devolve upon the abbot and his tenants.

From the end of the seventh century onwards we find evidence that rural properties were charged with the liability to repair the walls of *burhs*. From *Domesday* we learn that in the reign of Eadweard the Confessor the rule in Cheshire was:

"To repair the wall of the city . . . the prepositus ordered a man to come from every hide in the county."

¹ *Hide*, see pp. 46-8 *post*.

² *Sub anno* 894.

There exists a remarkably interesting document of the time of Eadweard the Elder, or possibly of Ælfred, known as the "Burghal Hidage", which gives a list of all the lands dependent on the *burhs* of Wessex. It sets forth certain arrangements made early in the tenth century for the defence of Wessex against Danish inroads. It names divers strongholds, and assigns to each a number of hides. These *burhs* range from important places like Winchester, Lewes, Exeter, Oxford, &c., down to small *burhs* like Twynham (Christchurch, Hants). Every place in Wessex mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as a fortress between the years 890 and 900 is duly recorded, but no mention is made of any of the towns refortified, or new *burhs* built in Mercia, or in East Anglia, by Eadweard the Elder, which proves that the document was compiled prior to Eadweard's war of conquest against the Danes.

As a result of the building of the *burhs* in Mercia and in East Anglia, there were in the tenth century many small shires, created for the purpose of maintaining the smaller *burhs* and which were afterwards absorbed into the larger shires. For instance, Ranulf Higden, monk of Chester, in his *Polychronicon*, written in the time of Richard I says: "I find there hath been in Lancashire five little shires, Westderbyshire, Salfordshire, Lelandshire, Blacknorshire, and *territorium de Lancaster*; and so likewise there was Richmondshire in Yorkshire and many other such shires which now go under the name of [i.e. they have now been absorbed into] other shires", and in Heming's *Cartulary* we find it related that there was a Winchcombeshire which Eadric Streona arbitrarily annexed to Gloucestershire.¹

Butcher² and Peck³ both state that there was a district known as "Stamfordshire"; neither of those authors, however, give an exact reference but merely quote "the Book of Crowland" and "the Book of Bury" as their authority and, having no clue to guide me, I have failed to verify their references. Butcher,⁴ after quoting from Camden says: "With this in part agrees the Booke of Crowland which makes mention of Stamford and Stamfordshire", and Peck⁵

¹ *Provincias provinciis pro libito adjungeret, nam vicecomitatum de Wincelcumb, quae per se tunc erat, vicecomitatui Gloecestre adjunxit.*

² *Survey and Antiquities of the Town of Stamford*, 1646.

³ See note 3 on p. 36, *ante*.

⁴ p. 7.

⁵ p. 19.

says: "That there was, long before the Norman conquest, such a District as Stamford-shire, the book of Bury puts beyond all contradiction." In the manuscript of a contemplated second edition of Butcher's work which, however, did not appear in print until 1727, when it was printed by Peck as an Addendum to his *Annals of Stamford*, the above passage is rendered: "With this in part agrees the book of Crowland, which makes mention of Stamford-shire being a county before the conquest." In the same connexion is also given a reference to "*Hoveden's Annals*, fol. 249, a. n. 10", but I have not referred to Hoveden's original manuscript and I fail to find this passage in the printed versions.

In an article by Francis Thynne, Lancaster Herald, entitled "Of what Antiquity Shires were in England", printed in *A Collection of Curious Discourses*, published by Thomas Hearne, 1720, the author refers to several small shires which now have become absorbed into other counties, and on p. 40 he says: "Moreover, the book belonging to St. Edmondsbury, dividing the realm, doth in more ample sort set down the shires, expressing how many hides of land be contained in divers of them." He then quotes from the "book belonging to St. Edmondsbury" that in England there were thirty-two shires. In these thirty-two shires were used three sorts of laws; the one called West-Saxon law; another Danish law, and a third Mercian law. He then enumerates the nine shires in which West-Saxon law was used; then those in which Danish law was used, fifteen shires including those of Northampton¹ and Stamford; and lastly he enumerates the Mercian shires and states the number of hides of land in each shire upon which the central *burh* was dependent, viz. Gloucester, 1,300; Worcester, 1,200; Hereford, 1,200; Warwick, 1,200; Oxford, 1,400; Chester, 1,200, and Stamford, 5 hides. From the foregoing extract it is evident that there were two Stamfordshires, one being in the Danelagh and the other in Mercia. The size of the former is not indicated, but the latter must have been a very tiny shire. The Stamfordshire in the Danelagh was undoubtedly the shire which owed obedience to the Danish Stamford and which was subse-

¹ The author includes the shire of Northampton as being under Danish law, but it passed out of the Danelagh in 916, when jarl Thurferth surrendered Northampton to Eadward, and should be included in the shires using Mercian law, although the shire was left in charge of Thurferth, the Danish jarl.

quently absorbed into Lincolnshire, and the Stamfordshire in which Mercian law was used would, of course, be the shire which was obedient to the *burh* of Stamford Baron and upon which it depended for defence and wall maintenance. This small shire was afterwards absorbed into Northamptonshire.

Although the Danes appear to have settled at Stamford, Lincolnshire, about the year 875, it seems probable that as it was not a frontier town (Northampton then being their frontier town), it was only upon the Danes being driven across the Welland that they fortified their position and thus it became, as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* describes it, a *burh*.

THE HIDE

The *hide* was a measure of land which does not appear to have been of uniform size but to have varied according to locality and period. The word was in general use in England in Anglo-Saxon and early English times. Kemble and some other authorities argue that the hide contained 30 or possibly 40 acres, while others assume that it contained 120 acres—not 120 acres of 4,840 square yards each, but 120 times the amount of land which a plough-team of eight oxen could plough in a single day. Consequently the hide would vary according to the kind of land under the plough.

Whatever the hide contained in early times it was not, apparently, until the tenth century that it contained 120 acres. There can be no doubt that at the time of *Domesday* the hide equated with 120 acres. A probable explanation is that, although in early Anglo-Saxon times the hide consisted of 30 acres or thereabouts, it had come before the Norman period to contain 120 acres. Professor Maitland (*Domesday and Beyond*) accepts the view that the hide contained 120 acres. That is, of course, 120 acres of ploughland, and by making a reasonable allowance for pasture and woodland, the hide probably equated with 160 or possibly 170 acres.

The whole subject is so vague that perhaps Selden is wisest when he says "hides were of an uncertain quantity". He gives a very good description of a hide when he says (*Titles of Honor*): "Now a hide of land regularly is and was (as I think) as much land as might be well manured with one plough, together with pasture, meadow, and wood competent

for the maintenance of that plough, and the servants of the family."

The hide as an estimate of measurement was adopted by Æthelred in 991, when he first imposed the Geldum, or Land Tax, of two shillings on each hide of plough-land. The hide was sometimes called the *pound land*, and if it was of the value of 20 shillings or 240 pence, that sum being distributed over 120 acres would give twopence for each acre, or a sterling pound as the value of a hide. It is now a generally accepted fact that in measuring the hide only plough-land was taken into account, to the exclusion of woods, meadows, and commons. Antiquaries' opinions, however, differ so widely that it is impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion as to the actual extent of the hide as a form of measurement. Consequently, taking the hide as a unit, it is impossible to estimate the area of the shire of Stamford Baron, but we can arrive at it in another way.

Oxfordshire, as stated above, contained 1,400 hides or exactly 280 times the number contained in Stamfordshire, and if we assume that the proportion of plough-land to that of meadows, woods, &c., corresponded in those two shires, we must assume that the total area of the latter shire was $\frac{1}{280}$ th that of the former. Prior to recent alterations in the county boundaries, Oxfordshire contained about 474,880 acres.¹ Now, if we divide the 474,880 acres by 280, the result shows 1,696 acres, which should as nearly as possible represent the area of the shire of Stamford Baron. In the *Victoria County History of Northamptonshire* it is stated that: "The ecclesiastical parish of St. Martin Stamford Baron containing the three civil parishes of St. Martin Stamford Baron in the administrative county of Lincoln and municipal borough of Stamford, St. Martin's Without, and Wothorpe, both in the administrative county of the Soke of Peterborough, covers altogether about 1,700 acres", from which it will be seen that the area of the tenth-century shire of Stamford Baron corresponded almost exactly with that of the present-day parish, which appears to leave little room for doubt that the boundaries also of the present-day parish of Stamford Baron are identical with the tenth-century boundaries of its shire—probably the smallest shire in the

¹ Table of poor's rates drawn up in the early years of the nineteenth century, under the inspection of the Rt. Hon. Geo. Rose.

kingdom. There can be little doubt also that the parish of St. Martin's represents the area of the *burh* made and fortified by order of Eadweard the Elder, in the year 917, and that the remainder of the parish represents the area of the shire upon which it depended for defence and wall maintenance. The difference of 4 acres between the area of the modern parish and that of the ancient shire is probably accounted for by the fact that the area of the *burh* was not included in that of the shire, but is included in that of the modern parish. This computation indicates that the shire of Stamford Baron consisted of 600 acres of plough-land and 1,100 acres of woods, meadows, and pasture-land; each hide containing 120 acres of plough-land and 220 acres of pasture-land, &c.

THE INSTITUTION OF THE MINT AT STAMFORD BARON

In or about the year 928, in the reign of Æthelstan, at the synod held at Greatley, near Andover, Hampshire, it was ordered that "there be one [kind of] money over all the king's dominion, and that no man mint except within port". It was further enacted that Canterbury should have seven moneyers—four for the king, two for the [arch]bishop, and one for the abbot; Rochester, three—two for the king and one for the bishop; London, eight; Winchester, six; Lewes, two; [South]Hamtune, two; Wareham, two; Exeter, two; Shaftesbury, two; Dorchester, Hastings, and Chichester, one each, and "in other *burhs* one moneyer".¹ This ordinance means that the type of coin was to be the same throughout the whole realm; in addition to the places enumerated, all *burhs*, or fortified towns, should have the privilege of a mint with at least one moneyer, and that no money should be coined except within the walls of a *burh*. This ordinance obviously relates only to Wessex, but there can be little doubt that a similar ordinance relating to Mercia was enacted about the same time, possibly at the same synod, in which would be enumerated the number of moneyers allocated to the Mercian towns. Stamford Baron, as a *burh*, would be entitled to at least one moneyer. And there can be little doubt that a mint was established in the Saxon *burh* on the

¹ For the full text in Anglo-Saxon, Latin, and English, of these and other monetary laws passed at Greatley, see Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton's paper, *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. vi, pp. 14-15.

south side of the river and not in the Danish *burh* on the north side. Indeed, it seems highly improbable that Æthelstan's law would apply to the Danish towns. The "Five Burhs" were small Danish republics living under their own laws,¹ and prior to the reign of Eadgar, Saxon coins were struck in them only at intervals when one or other of them fell into the hands of the West-Saxon king.

From the foregoing facts it is quite clear that it was within the southern *burh*, the Saxon town, the Northamptonshire Stamford, that the mint was established and not in the Danish *burh* on the north side of the river. And I think numismatists will agree that where the mint was originally established, there it continued. Indeed, we have contemporary documentary evidence in the form of a bull, or charter, of undoubted authenticity, of the year 1146, in which it is clearly specified that the mint was situated "in Stamford in Northamptonshire".²

Stamford Baron being a royal *burh*, the king could increase or decrease the number of moneyers at will, and the coins of Eadgar show quite clearly a considerable increase in the number of Stamford moneyers about the end of that reign, and a further increase in the reigns of Eadweard the Martyr, Æthelred II, and Canute. Thence onward the number of moneyers was gradually reduced, until the reign of William I, of William II, and of Henry I, when the royal moneyers were withdrawn, leaving only the abbot's two moneyers at work, and the reigns of Stephen, and Henry II, when only a single moneyer was employed.

EADGAR'S GRANT OF A MONEYER TO THE ABBOT OF PETERBOROUGH

The great Mercian abbey of Medeshamstede, afterwards called Burh and eventually Peterborough, was founded, according to the Peterborough *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in the year 655, by Peada, King of Merica. Peada was slain in the year 656 and was succeeded in his kingdom by his brother Wulphere, who, with the assistance of a monk named Saxulf, continued the building of the monastery, and when, in 664, the building was completed, Saxulf was appointed the first abbot, and Wulphere, in the presence of a large gathering of nobles and bishops, granted a charter by which

¹ See note 2, p. 37 *ante*.

² See p. 64 *post*.

he confirmed to the abbey all that had already been given to it and added considerably of his own lands, lakes, fens, &c., so that the abbey's territory included the whole of what is now the north-eastern part of Northamptonshire, reaching from Wansford right across the shire to Easton, thence northward to Crowland and enclosing all the land lying between the Nene and the Welland, including the site upon which the royal *burh* of Stamford Baron was afterwards built, as well as extensive possessions in the fens of adjoining counties.¹ These possessions, however, did not include any portion of the site of Stamford, Lincolnshire.

In the year 870 the abbey was attacked by the Danes, who murdered Abbot Hedda and his eighty-four monks and utterly destroyed the abbey, which remained in its ruined state for nearly a hundred years, while its lands passed into the hands of Burgred, King of Mercia. In 917, while the abbey still lay in ruins and its lands derelict, Eadweard the Elder built the royal *burh* at Stamford on the south side of the Welland. Military expediency rarely stands upon ceremony, and had it been possible for Eadweard to turn to the abbot for leave to build the *burh* it is highly improbable, in the circumstances, that he would have done so. As a matter of fact there were at that time neither abbot, monks, nor monastery, nor had there been either for about forty-five years. The abbey's lands eventually descended to King Eadgar, who, as we learn from the Peterborough *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in the year 964 rebuilt the abbey and in 972 he granted a charter by which he restored and confirmed to the abbey such of its former territory as was then in his hands; the *burh* of Stamford Baron, however, as I have previously stated, appears to have remained in the king's possession. On the other hand, Eadgar added many new possessions and privileges, including that of "one moneyer in Stamford for ever" (*unum monetarium in Stanford in perpetuam libertatem concedimus*).

Eadgar is also said to have changed the name of the abbey from Medeshamstede to that of Burh; but, on the other hand, we are told in the Peterborough *Chronicle* that Aldulf, the first abbot after the restoration of the abbey in the reign of Eadgar, "first made the walls about the monastery; then gave it for name 'Burh', that was before called Medesham-

¹ See pp. 59-61 *post*.

stede". The building of the defensive walls, thus creating it a *burh*, was without doubt the reason for the change of appellation; and we are told by William of Malmesbury that Medeshamstede so greatly resembled a fortified town that it was called "Burh".¹

The grant of a moneyer to an abbey still in the early stages of rebuilding and situated as Medeshamstede was, in an uninhabited and desolate region, would be but an empty favour, so Eadgar granted to the abbot the privilege of having one moneyer in the existing mint at Stamford Baron and probably allocated to him one of the royal moneyers working there.

Eadgar's grant to Peterborough Abbey of "one moneyer in Stanford" was exactly on a par with the subsequent grant of Henry I to Reading Abbey of "one moneyer in London", and with the right recorded in *Domesday* of the Bishop of East Anglia—then located at Thetford—to "one moneyer in Norwich" (*In hoc burgo similiter episcopus potest habere unum monetarium*).

It is probable that the privilege of a moneyer at Norwich was granted to the Bishop of East Anglia when that see was located at Elmham, a village near East Dereham, Norfolk. In the year 1075 an important council assembled in London under the presidency of Lanfranc at which it was enacted that henceforth the English bishops should transfer their residences from villages to cities,² and in obedience to this decree the seat of the bishopric of East Anglia was removed from Elmham to Thetford. A moneyer working at Elmham would have entailed a loss to the bishop instead of a profit, so he was granted the privilege of a moneyer in the existing and prosperous royal mint at Norwich.

In the foundation charter of Reading Abbey granted by Henry I in 1125, after reciting that he had built the new abbey at Reading, Henry grants to its abbot, amongst other privileges, a mint and one moneyer at Reading (*cum moneta et uno monetario apud Radingiam*).³

As in the case of Peterborough, the grant of a mint and moneyer to an abbey in the early stages of erection would be

¹ *Burh*, "a fortified town", or other fortified position.

² William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*. (Rolls Series), p. 66.

³ *Registrum Cartarum Abbatiae de Reading*, Cott. MS. Vesp. E. v, fol. 17; *Monasticon*, vol. iv, p. 40.

an empty favour, and so we find that the precedent of Peterborough was followed, and the king by writ authorized Roger Bishop of Salisbury, as "Chief Justiciary of all England" in his own absence, to allocate one of the royal moneyers in the mint at London who should coin and hold an exchange there for and on behalf of the abbot. The writ, which is of considerable numismatic interest, is as follows:

"Charter of R[oger] Bishop of Salisbury for a moneyer in London. R[oger] Bishop of Salisbury and procurator of the Kingdom of the English under our lord King Henry to A[] the Sheriff and all other the Kings ministers now or to be in London and all England, greeting.

"Know ye that by the precept of our lord King Henry we have given to Hugh the abbot and to the monks of Reading [abbey] a moneyer in London where he may coin money and have an Exchange and all things as have the King's other moneyers, Edgar, to wit, who by concession of the King shall be and remain as free, undisturbed and quit, in his house and staff from all pleas, actions at law and customs [in London], in the power of the abbot and monks of Reading as though he dwelt in Reading. Whosoever, also, may be appointed after Edgar, or in his place, to the mint in London, by the hand of the abbot and monks of Reading, shall in the same way be free, undisturbed and quit in house and staff in London, and shall remain in the power of the abbot and monks of Reading as though he dwelt in Reading.

"The said Edgar, also, and whosoever shall be moneyer after him, shall pay to the abbot and monks of Reading for the money that shall be struck, all those charges and customary payments which all the other moneyers in London pay to the King; and Edgar or he who follows him or acts for him shall hold the Exchange on such land of the abbot of Reading as the abbot shall concede, whether it be Edgar or he who shall follow him or take his place and the abbot and monks of Reading make their moneyer; which right is conceded them for ever."¹

The privilege of coining money has always been considered the especial prerogative of the executive power in every

¹ *Reading Register*, Harleian MS. 1708, folio III; *Monasticon*, vol. iv, p. 41. The Latin of this charter is given by Mr. Andrew in *The Numismatic History of Henry I*, pp. 373-4.

nation, and for this reason, as Blackstone says,¹ as money is the medium of commerce, it is the king's prerogative, as the arbiter of domestic commerce, to give it authority, or to make it current. In the later Anglo-Saxon period and in Norman times, and later, the profits on the coinage formed no inconsiderable portion of the revenues of the crown. We have no precise knowledge as to the profits made on the coinage in late Anglo-Saxon times, but in Norman times the legitimate profit was sixteen pence halfpenny on every 240 pence coined, and it is probable that in pre-Norman times the proportion of profit was about the same. Consequently the privilege of a mint or even one moneyer was a desirable possession, especially at times such as in the reign of Æthelred II, when the imposition of the Danegelt, which necessitated an enormous coinage, rendered a mint, or a moneyer, a most profitable possession, and the church and the abbeys vied with each other in their claims for a share in the profits accruing from striking and issuing the national coinage. Some of the early archbishops of Canterbury and of York placed their own name and portrait upon their coins; in the reign of Æthelstan, as I have previously shown on p. 48, the Archbishop of Canterbury had the privilege of two moneyers and the abbot one, and the Bishop of Rochester had one. At a later time other bishops and abbots were granted coining privileges, and as I have shown elsewhere,² in the reign of Henry III, the Archbishop of York held the privilege of working no less than four pairs of dies.

It is generally understood that no English abbot, mitred or otherwise, ever obtained the privilege of working more than one pair of dies, but I hope to prove that the Abbot of Peterborough held the unique privilege amongst English abbots of having *two* moneyers in Stamford mint from the reign of Canute onwards, and that in Norman times, from 1070, he held the privilege of transferring one of them, if he wished, to his abbey at Peterborough.

THE ABBOT OF PETERBOROUGH'S MONEY EXCHANGES

The grant of a moneyer to the Abbot of Peterborough carried with it a share in the profits of the money exchange at Stamford Baron, and at a later period, in the reign of

¹ *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 1876, vol. i, pp. 247-8.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1931, p. 276.

Henry I, and probably immediately after the Norman Conquest, the abbot possessed the sole privilege of holding an exchange within the limits of his territory. In the reign of Henry I, and probably earlier, the abbot also held an exchange in the markets at Peterborough and at Oundle, as is shown by the following schedule of a part of the abbot's possessions and privileges recorded in the *Liber Niger Monasterii S. Petri de Burgo*, which was compiled about the year 1125:

"In Stamford there are 43 men having houses with land adjoining which is not assessed with their houses, and 17 men holding no land except their houses, and those are in Hamtunshire. There are also in the same shire 15 undertenants (*undersetes*) who are not liable for any service except to the husbandman on whose land they dwell. . . . Moreover, the moneyers pay 20 shillings at Easter for the money exchange at the market[s] of Oundle and [of] Burh and 20 shillings for the change of the money." (. . . *Praeterea reddunt monetarii de cambitione mercati Undele et Burch in Pascha .xx. solidos, et de torno monete .xx. solidos.*)¹

The foregoing passage shows conclusively that in Norman times the abbot had a plurality of moneyers. The moneyers in royal mints were officers of the Crown, but these moneyers were merely servants of their lord—the abbot. The abbot paid certain fees to the king's cuneator for the dies and in return received the profits of the coinage. The word *torno* in the above passage is somewhat puzzling. *Tornus* has a variety of meanings in medieval Latin, none of which, however, make sense in connexion with the above passage. Whatever the scribe had in his mind when he wrote the word *torno*, the passage can only relate to the moneyers' payment of the usual 20 shillings on the change of the money.

In *Domesday*, in the accounts of the various mints we find a constant repetition of the entry that in addition to their rent, the moneyers paid certain fees to the king whenever the money was changed. For instance, under "Worcester" it is stated that:

"In the city of Worcester King Eadweard had this customary due (*consuetudinem*). When the money (*moneta*)

¹ *Appendix to Chronicon Petroburgense*, Camden Society's publication No. 47, p. 166.

was changed [i.e. a new type ordered] each moneyer gave 20 shillings at London for receiving the [new] money dies."

Under "Shrewsbury" it is recorded that:

"Three moneyers the king [i.e. King Eadweard] had there, who after they had purchased their money-dies (*cuneos*), as the other moneyers of the kingdom did, on the fifteenth day paid to the king 20 shillings each, and this was done on any change of the money (*moneta vertente*)."

And under "Hereford" that:

"There were [in the days of King Eadweard] seven moneyers there. One of these was the bishop's moneyer. When the money was renewed each of them gave 18 shillings for receiving the money-dies, and one month from the day on which they returned, each of them gave the king 20 shillings and likewise the bishop had from his moneyer 20 shillings. When the king came into the city the moneyers coined as much as he willed for him, that is of the king's silver."

There are other entries in which is recorded the payment to the king at the change of the money, but in which the receipt of the dies is not recorded; for instance:

"In the borough of Lewes, when the money is renewed, each moneyer gives 20 shillings."¹

"In the borough of Dorchester there were two moneyers each of them rendering to the king one mark of silver and 20 shillings whenever the money should be renewed."

"In Bridport there was one moneyer who rendered to the king one mark of silver, and 20 shillings whenever the money should be renewed."

"In King Edward's time there were in the city of Chester seven moneyers who gave to the king and the earl 7 pounds over and above the farm, when there was a new coinage."

There are also similar entries relating to two moneyers at Wareham and three at Shaftesbury. From these entries in *Domesday* we know that the change of type was made an

¹ Of this two-thirds was the king's and the other third went to Earl Warene.

occasion of a payment to the king by his moneyers and to bishops by their moneyers; and from the above entry in the *Black Book of Peterborough*, we know that each of the abbot of Peterborough's moneyers made him a similar payment of 20 shillings.

These fees were payable on the change of tender and the institution of a new type. In Norman times this occurred once in about two and a half or three years. In pre-Norman times it occurred more often, for during the twenty-five years of Eadweard the Confessor's reign there were eleven distinct types issued. The king derived a considerable income, directly and indirectly, from this frequent change in the type of the current coin. As Mr. Andrew observes,¹ to proclaim a new coinage without placing some restriction upon the old would have been quite useless. The moneyers would have continued to use their old dies rather than pay for new ones, and it would have been no hardship to the people, as we are expressly told it was, unless they were periodically compelled to change their old money for new, thus contributing large fees to the moneyers and exchanges, who in turn contributed to the Exchequer. How little mere surmise there is in this may be shown by reference to any of the hoards of the period, which never contain more than four or five different types at the most. Mr. Andrew also propounds the following theory in regard to the *Monetagium* tax:

"This system of constant change in the tender appears to have been carried to excess in late Anglo-Saxon times, and was naturally a great hardship to the people, who were put to the cost of renewing their money so often, and therefore, at some time subsequent to the Conquest, the tax of *Monetagium* was introduced. This was in effect, a compact between King and people, that in return for a hearth tax of twelve pence, payable every third year, the money should not be changed more often than once in that period. The *Monetagium* tax, however, soon became more unpopular than the old custom which it was intended to ameliorate. If it was instituted immediately after the Conquest, it certainly did not restrict the number of new coinages to one in every three years, for we have

¹ *Henry I*, p. 13.

no less than thirteen distinct types issued during the thirty-four years of the reign of the two Williams. But if we accept it as referring to the changes in legal tender for the time being, then, as the finds prove that two or three types, consecutive issues, were always retained in currency at the same time, the period exactly suffices for a change every third year. Henry I at once abolished this tax by his Coronation Charter, in which he says: 'The usual *Monetagium* which was being taken in cities and in counties, which was not done in the time of King Edward, I altogether forbid this being done henceforth.' (*Monetagium commune quod capiebatur per civitates et per comitatus, quod non fuit tempore Regis Edwardi, hoc ne amodo fiat omnino defendo.*)¹

"This, however, was a doubtful benefit to the people, as it left the king a free hand to change the tender as often as he wished, and as his hold of the crown strengthened he seems to have more frequently exercised the privilege, for during his reign of thirty-five years, he issued no fewer than fifteen distinct coinages, and it is little to be wondered at that the moneyers, who thus had so many extra fees to pay, should have endeavoured to recoup themselves from the public by debasing and lightening the coinage."²

From the above-cited record in the Peterborough *Black Book*, it seems that the exchanges at Burh and at Oundle were not permanent but were set up temporarily in the market-place on market days for the convenience of merchants and others attending those markets. These exchanges were farmed for 20 shillings per year to the two moneyers, but the exchange at Stamford Baron, the most remunerative of the abbot's exchanges, appears to have been retained in the abbot's own hand. An exchange (*cambium*) was attached to every mint (*moneta*); the special function of the exchange was to purchase bullion for the use of the mint to which it was attached, and to issue new coin to the public. It was the only source through which the moneyer could put his coins into circulation. The exchanger was in charge of the

¹ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, Rolls Series, vol. ii, p. 116; *Historia Minor*, Rolls Series, vol. i, p. 179; *Statutes of the Realm*, Record Commission, 1810, vol. i, p. 1.

² Henry I, pp. 13-15. See also "Monetagium", by Dr. G. C. Brooke, *Num. Chron.*, 1912.

mint as well as the exchange. The moneyers were subordinate to him, and one of his duties was to check the weight and standard of the coins as they came from the moneyers and before they passed into the hands of the public. Away from the chief exchange the moneyers appear to have been the recognized purchasers of bullion, as is shown below and also in the case of the abbot's moneyers in the market at Burh and at Oundle.

About 1118, or a little earlier, was issued a writ in which it was forbidden that any moneyer should exchange money except in his own county and in the presence of two credible witnesses of the same county, and if he should be taken exchanging money in any other county, he should be punished as a false coiner. It was likewise commanded that no person except he were a moneyer should presume to exchange money. In the case of the abbot's exchange this writ would apply not to the county but to the abbot's liberty which, as I have previously stated on p. 50, was somewhat extensive.

Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. v, p. 416, writing of a somewhat later period, states that when the royal exchanges gave silver coins for gold nobles, for example, they gave one silver penny less for each noble than its current value, and when they gave gold nobles for silver coins they took one penny more, or 6s. 9d. for each noble, by which in every transaction they made a profit of $1\frac{1}{5}$ per cent. The exchangers had also the exclusive privilege of giving the current coins of the kingdom in exchange for foreign coins to accommodate merchant strangers, and the exchange or purchase of obsolete English or other money for the use of the mints. By these various operations the royal exchanges made considerable profits, of which the king had a certain share. The above extract from the Peterborough *Liber Niger* shows that the abbot's moneyers paid 20 shillings per year for the privilege of working the abbot's monopoly of an exchange at certain places within his liberty. Probably the abbot received, in addition, a proportion of the profits equal to that which the king received from those to whom he farmed the royal exchanges. It was at the change of the money, when a new type was introduced, which occurred about every three years, and the obsolete coins were brought in, that the exchangers made their principal profits. As is shown above, they held a monopoly of the privilege of exchanging coin and they were

entitled to deduct sixteen pence halfpenny from the price of every pound weight of coins or other silver that they bought.

As we have already seen, the moneyer at a small provincial mint is frequently also the exchanger. From this union, probably sprang the use of the term *cambium* for either the mint or exchange, which renders it impossible to discover, in some instances, which of the two offices is intended. This ambiguity is noticed by William of Malmesbury, in his history, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, where he speaks of the severities practised by order of Henry I "against the trapezitae whom they commonly call moneyers" (*contra trapezitas quos vulgo monetarios vocant*).¹ The word trapezita is the Greek *τραπέζιτης*, which is derived from *τράπεζα*, "a money-changer's table". Hence, by "trapezita", William of Malmesbury means a money-changer.

THE PETERBOROUGH CHARTERS OF WULFHHERE AND EADGAR

In the year 1070 the Danes, assisted by Hereward and his followers, attacked Peterborough Abbey, plundered the church, destroyed the buildings of the abbey except the church itself, and laid waste the town with fire. Hereward spared the church but soon after his departure a fire seized upon the church and the remaining buildings, from which the monks rescued a few relics and little else. In August 1116 the abbey church was again accidentally burnt. The Peterborough *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that "the whole of the monastery was burnt, with all the houses, except the chapter-house and the dormitory; and the greater part of the town was burnt also". There can be no doubt that the library also with the charters and other records were consumed in the general conflagration.

The charters of Wulfhere and Eadgar cited on pp. 50 and 51, in the form in which we know them, are undoubtedly of early twelfth-century date, and there can be little doubt that it was after the disastrous fire of 1116 that they were written. As they are frequently described as "spurious" it may not be out of place to quote the following from the Introduction to Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*:

"Much might be written upon the obscure question of the genuineness of certain documents included in the

¹ *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, Rolls Series, vol. ii, p. 476.

following pages. . . . Setting aside for the moment those which are glaringly fictitious, there are many which in their present form, are not true texts of original documents, for these originals have no doubt perished in some of the frequent calamities which are so graphically described in many an ancient chronicle. But looking on them with the light which many other genuine deeds of this period afford, we cannot but be led to the conclusion that, although they are not copies, they are reconstructions of genuine documents, couched in terms differing for the most part widely from the language of the original. It is not unlikely that these late and spurious forms were set up when necessity arose for the existence and production of the muniments and charters which alone could confer upon the cathedral, the abbey, or the private person, the rights of possession and privileges long and usefully, as well as legally and unquestionably, enjoyed by such corporations or individuals. Accepting this view, that these apparently false charters are neither originals nor copies of originals, but mere substitutes for originals; not fictitious in the sense of being false representations; nevertheless, recording real transactions, yet not in the terms in which the grants were originally made, we can easily understand how it is that they contain so many errors of language, history, and topography, and are so full of anachronisms.

"A charter formerly in the Ashburnham Library, now in the British Museum (Stowe Charter, No. 21), illustrates the practice of rewriting charters from memory if they had been destroyed. This deed is dated A.D. 903, and recites how Aethelfrith, the Duke, had lost all his hereditary charters by fire, and therefore he desires permission of King Edward, and Æthelred and Æthelfleda, rulers of the Mercians, to prepare other charters, 'eodem modo quo et priores scripti erant in quantum eos memoriter recordari potuisset'."

After this, the wonder is that the observed errors in Anglo-Saxon diplomatics are not much more numerous than is really the case.

Ingulph describes the destruction of Crowland Abbey in the year 1091. He describes his own visit to the muniment room of the abbey, and the discovery that all their charters

had been destroyed. Then follows a most reasonable account of how they were replaced. Copies of some of the charters had been in use in the cloisters by the juniors for instruction in the art of writing, and from these and memory a new set was prepared. It is highly probable that such precious documents as charters would be committed to memory, so that if destroyed in those turbulent times they could be easily replaced; and we have here the undoubted cause of the errors and anachronisms. The main objection to the Peterborough charters is that the place-names, &c., are of the Norman period, and not such as were in use in Anglo-Saxon times; but the scribe working from memory or dictation would reproduce ancient ideas in Norman phraseology, and can there be any wonder that errors, especially of detail, should creep in?

There was in the reign of Henry I, resident in Peterborough Abbey, a Norman monk named Hugo, called Albus, or Candidus. He witnessed the fire of 1116, when the church and the library, with the charters, &c., were consumed, and of which event he has left us a vivid account. Hugo, who on account of his delicate health, was unable to take part in the more strenuous work of the monastery, in course of time became the monastery scribe. About 1120 he commenced to write a history of the Abbey of Peterborough, which he carried down to the election of Abbot Waterville, in 1155, about which time it is probable that Hugo's death took place. The Peterborough *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was written after the destruction of the library, in 1116, and it appears probable that Hugo wrote the concluding portions, as well as the interpolations concerning Peterborough Abbey, for the *Chronicle*, like his history of Peterborough, comes abruptly to an end with the election of Abbot Waterville.

Thomas Wright¹ suggests that Hugo used the *Chronicle* in compiling his history, and that he mistranslates some of the English words in a way that shows little familiarity with the English tongue, and it has been pointed out by several other authorities, including the late Sir Henry Howorth,² that while the greater part of the Peterborough *Chronicle*—where it has been copied from an earlier manuscript—is

¹ *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, Anglo-Norman period, p. 177.

² "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, its Origin and History", *Archaeological Journal*, 1908.

written in good English, the concluding portions and the interpolations relating to Peterborough are written in the Mercian dialect and show evidence of having been written by a person also imperfectly acquainted with the English tongue. Sir Henry Howorth says: "The Peterborough Chronicle, which was compiled in 1122, and was almost immediately followed by the history of the Monastery by Hugo Candidus, are the only documents of the kind we know anything directly about, and both of them were products of the twelfth century. Nor are there, so far as I know, any manuscripts extant of an earlier date than this which came directly from its library."

Hugo's history of Peterborough Abbey is preserved at Peterborough, and is known by the title of *Liber de Swaffham*. Swaffham, another monk of Burh, however, was merely a continuator of Hugo's work down to the year 1245. Hugo's work, *Coenobii Historia Burgensis*, is printed in Sparke's *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Varii*, 1723, book iii, pp. 1-94.

Hugo, as the monastery scribe, was probably the writer of the "spurious" charters of Wulfhere and Eadgar, which were probably produced under conditions similar to those described by Ingulph. In the latter part of 1145 Abbot Martin went to Rome, so that Pope Eugenius III might grant to him and his abbey a confirmation of the charters which had been granted to the abbey in earlier times. Walter of Whittlesea records Martin's journey, and adds that he took with him to Rome the charter granted to the abbey by Æthelred, brother and successor of Wulfhere. It is possible that this was the only early charter saved from the fire of 1116, but although Whittlesea fails to mention other charters, it is evident that Abbot Martin also took with him the "spurious" charters of Wulfhere and Eadgar; and possibly others, of which we have no record.

We are also told that "in the consistory there arose a debate about the form of the charter which had hitherto gone current for the space of almost five hundred years, and one of the Cardinals present besought the Pope that he would not give the honour of his name to another's grant; whereupon a new charter was granted to Abbot Martin in the name of Eugenius", wherein he grants and confirms to the abbot and his successors all the tenements and possessions of the abbey, the fees of knights, the liberties of the church, &c.

THE BULL OF POPE EUGENIUS III AND THE STAMFORD
AND PETERBOROUGH MINTS

A full transcript of the charter, or Bull, of Pope Eugenius is given in Hugo's history of Burh, from which it is copied into Gunton's *History of The Church of Peterborough*, 1686, and thence into Dugdale's *Monasticon*. Gunton was not aware that the actual charter of Eugenius was still in existence, but between the time of the compilation of his history and the date of its publication, the original charter came to light in the following curious manner, as related by Dean Patrick, the editor of Gunton's work:

"The very original, signed by Pope Eugenius by his own hand, and attested by the Cardinal of St. George and another whose name is eaten out, came to light about 13 years ago, upon this occasion. Some Workmen employed about mending the Roof of the Church, in the upper Ceiling, taking up a board (fast nailed down just over the High Altar) which it was necessary to remove, found this Bull under it: much defaced indeed by time, and worm-eaten in many places, but with a very fair seal to it, which I have caused to be represented in this Figure of it."

The seal represented is of the type of leaden seal, or bulla, commonly attached to Papal Bulls, having on one side two heads representing SS. Paul and Peter, and the other side inscribed "EUGENIVS PP. III". Dean Patrick continues:

"How it came there; hath been the enquiry of several persons ever since it was found. My conjecture is that in the Insurrection of Jack Straw, and his partakers, some Monk, fearing all their Records might be destroyed, resolved to secure this, which was of great value, by hiding it on the top of the Church; where by his sudden death perhaps, or by forgetfulness it ever after remained."

This charter, which was substituted for, and in which was embodied in a more convenient form, the contents of the various charters previously granted to Peterborough, including those granted by Wulfhere and by Eadgar, sets forth that:—

"Eugenius the servant of God's servants, to Martin the Burh Abbot, and his brethren the monks professed

present and future. . . . Therefore son Martin . . . thou hast visited with due devotion the threshold of the Apostles and art present before us, we kindly consent to thy petition and thy brethren's demands and take under our protection and St. Peter's the church of St. Peter . . . at Burh . . . and we now arm you with the authority of this present rescript.

"We will that whatever possessions and goods the church now justly and canonically has or hereafter may have by pontifical concession, by royal and princely grants or by offerings of the faithful, or may be acquired by other just means . . . shall be yours and your successors. Imprimis we think it right to specify in words as follows."

Then follows a concise account of the various possessions and privileges belonging to the abbey, clearly scheduled under counties and commencing as follows:

"In Northamptonshire, Burh, which anciently was called Medeshamstede, where the Monastery is situated, with Sanctuary, Market, Tolls, and *Money Die*, together with marshes, woods &c. appertaining thereto."

After which follows a detailed account of the abbey's possessions in many places in Northamptonshire; and to prevent the before-mentioned money die from being confused with that granted by Eadgar, in Stamford, it may be pointed out that when the schedule reaches Stamford (still in Northamptonshire), we find the following account of the abbey's possessions and privileges:

"In Stamford, fifty-nine mansuras of land, with lands, Mills, Churches, Tolls and *Money Die*."

And to emphasize the fact that the foregoing were in Northamptonshire, it adds:

"In the same town *in Lincolnshire*, seven mansuras."

Thus showing beyond question that the abbot's mint was situated at Stamford, Northamptonshire, and not in Stamford, Lincolnshire. It is not so specified in the bull, but it is evident that the abbot had the privilege of using one pair of dies alternatively at Peterborough or at Stamford, according to his discretion and convenience.

This original record and confirmation of the abbot's

privilege of a mint and moneyer at Peterborough, raises three questions: (1) when and in what circumstances was this privilege first granted, (2) what coins were struck under this grant, and (3) have any of the coins so issued been preserved to us?

To consider the first question we must return to the reign of Eadweard the Confessor. Leofric, Abbot of Peterborough and nephew of the powerful Leofric, Ealdorman of Mercia, stood so high in the favour of Eadward that he held five abbeys at once: Burton, Coventry, Crowland, and Thorney, besides Peterborough. When the Norman invaded England Leofric, preferring the cause of his country to that of his own house, exchanged the monk's gown for the hauberk of the soldier and took part in defending his country against the invader. He fought at Hastings and, after the heavy defeat of the English, made his way home, sick and weary, to die amongst his brethren in his own abbey of Peterborough.

To succeed Leofric in the abbacy the monks elected one of their own number, Brand, a Saxon, said to have been uncle to Hereward, the Saxon patriot. After his election, Brand, esteeming William of Normandy lightly, and looking upon him as an unanointed ruler, went to Eadgar Ætheling, and applied to him for confirmation of his election as Abbot of Peterborough. The sequel is best told in the words of the Peterborough chronicler:

“The monks then chose for Abbot provost Brand . . . and sent him to Eadgar Ætheling, for that the land-folk supposed that he should be king: and the Ætheling received him gladly. When king William heard say that, he was very wroth, and said that the Abbot had renounced him: but good men went between them, and reconciled them; because the Abbot was a good man. He gave the king forty marks of gold for his reconciliation; and he lived but a little while after—only three years. Afterwards came every tribulation and every evil to the minster.”

Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, says:

“Two of the greatest monasteries in England lay specially open to his (the Conqueror's) wrath. We have seen how the Abbots of Peterborough and New Minster, Leofric the nephew of Earl Leofric and Aelfwig the brother of Earl Godwine, had given their lives in the cause of

England. And the brotherhood of either house was in William's eyes as guilty as its chief. Twelve monks of the New Minster had been found among the slain at Senlac, and the convent of the Golden Burh had done a deed of treason well nigh as dark in William's eyes by sending the Abbot chosen in Leofric's place to seek the royal confirmation at the hands of the English Aetheling. There seems to have been something specially galling to William in this quiet ignoring of his claims. The monks of Peterborough had not even waited to see what would be the final end of the strife. They had shut their eyes to the presence of the Conqueror in the land, and had dealt with the uncrowned Eadgar as already King."

Abbot Brand was a Saxon, and his and his monks' Saxon sympathies were well known. Consequently the Conqueror held some little ill will towards them, increased no doubt as a result of his dispute with them at the time of Brand's election; and when, upon Brand's death in November 1069, the monks again claimed to elect their own abbot, William brushed aside their claim, and in April 1070 appointed as Brand's successor Tuold, a Norman, who is described by the local chronicler as a very stern man, and the known details of his earlier history fully bear out the character.

Tuold, a monk of Fécamp, is said to have fought at Hastings, and the Conqueror rewarded him by bestowing upon him the abbacy of Malmesbury. He had been famed on the other side of the Channel for his acts of violence, also for a habit he had of calling in some of his armed retainers whenever he was not instantly obeyed, who at once suppressed by force the slightest resistance on the part of the brotherhood. His exploits in wielding his sword against unarmed monks became notorious, and as he conducted himself more as a soldier than an abbot, the king sent him to rule in the abbey of Peterborough, a post of some danger from its vicinity to the Saxon camp of refuge, with the intention probably of making Peterborough a military centre.

Tuold's ill fame having preceded him to Mercia, the monks hesitated as to how to receive their new abbot. They were justified in their hesitation, for Tuold's rule as Abbot of Peterborough proved to be one of terror rather than of

legitimate discipline, and he treated the monks as slaves rather than as brethren. When he temporarily retired from Peterborough he obtained the abbacy of Beauvais, and the monks of Peterborough trusted they had seen the last of him, but owing to his tyrannical character he was expelled from his French abbacy after a rule of only three or four days, and he gave a large sum of money to the Conqueror to be reinstated in the abbacy of Peterborough. Hugo Candidus says that Turolde was a mischief to the church of Peterborough eight and twenty years, that being the length of his rule.

Hereward, however, did not hesitate, but, with the assistance of his allies, the Danes, attacked the abbey. Hereward was, as is stated by Hugo Candidus, "a man of the Abbot of Burh", his holdings being situated at Witham on the Hill, and possibly Rippingdale and Laughton, all near Bourne; and it is evident that "Hereward and his gang", as they are termed in the *Peterborough Chronicle*, were the rebellious tenants of the abbey, as distinct from the Danes, and that they, as well as the monks, bitterly resented the imposition upon them of a Norman abbot.

As Dr. Round observes (*Feudal England*), "Hereward's plea for bringing the Danes to Peterborough was that he honestly believed that they would overthrow the Normans, and that the treasures of the church would, therefore, be safer in their hands. He may perfectly well have been hostile to the Normans and yet faithful to the Abbey so long as Brand held it; but the news that Turolde and his knights were coming to make the Abbey a centre of Norman rule against him would drive him to extreme courses. . . . Living on the edge of the fenland, he may well have been a leader among 'that English folk of the fenlands' who rose, says the *Peterborough Chronicle*, in the spring of 1070, to join the Danish fleet and throw off the Norman yoke. And the prospect of being ousted from his Peterborough lands by a follower of the new French Abbot would have added a personal zest to his patriotic zeal."

Turolde appears to have been afraid to go near Hereward's haunts, and to take possession of Peterborough without a troop of 160 French soldiers, all well armed. Late in May 1070 Turolde reached Stamford Baron with these soldiers, the greater part of whom must have been furnished by the

king to guard him on the road and put him in possession. When Tuold reached Peterborough a few days later, he found everything, except the church, burnt. Meanwhile the Danes, having notice of his coming, had got away.

Hereward grew every day more formidable to Tuold, who, as the Chronicle of John, Abbot of Peterborough, observes, granted threescore and two whole hides of land belonging to Peterborough Abbey to certain stipendiary knights to protect him against Hereward. Hugo Candidus says "Tuold gave lands amounting to sixty-two knights fees to these tenants and their heirs." This considerable military force, however, did not prevent Tuold from falling into Hereward's hands, from which captivity he is said to have redeemed himself by the payment of three thousand marks of silver (*Gesta Herewardi*), which was so large a sum in those days that the statement appears somewhat incredible, but whatever the amount of his ransom may have been there can be little doubt that it was paid in coined money, of which a considerable proportion was probably struck in the abbot's mint at Peterborough.

Tuold set his soldiers to work at Peterborough to strengthen the defences of the abbey and to erect, within the defensive wall, a castle or keep, of which the mound still exists; for centuries it was known as "Mount Tuold", and to-day it is known as "Tout Hill". The tower was demolished by Abbot Martin in the reign of Henry I or of Stephen.

The maintenance of Tuold's small army of knights and their followers necessitated a considerable outlay, and there can be little doubt that the Conqueror, foreseeing the necessity for a considerable sum in coined money, and anticipating that Tuold would probably be compelled by Hereward to remain within the precincts of his abbey, and thus be unable to procure a supply of coin from his mint at Stamford, granted to Tuold the privilege of coining within the abbey, and provided him with dies for that purpose.

We will now consider if we have in our cabinets any coins struck under this grant, and if it is possible to identify them. In the Beaworth hoard, found in 1833, were a few coins which were then read **SEPORD ON BVRDI**, &c., and were attributed to Burh Abbey, but there can be little doubt that Mr. L. A. Lawrence is correct in reading these coins



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COINS OF THE STAMFORD MINT

ÆTHELRÆD II

Plate III

SEPORD ON BARDI, &c., and also in allocating them to Barnstaple, which, in Anglo-Saxon and Norman times, was spelt "Bardestapla", &c.¹

In the abbot's mint at Stamford, in the reigns of Eadweard the Confessor, Harold II, and William I, was a moneyer named Leofwine or Lefwine. His name first appears upon Stamford coins of Eadweard the Confessor, of type C.-B.² III (*Hks.*³ 220; *Hild.*⁴ C.), which Major Carlyon-Britton considers to have been issued from 1045 to 1048, and his name appears upon each succeeding type down to the end of the Confessor's reign, and also upon coins of Harold II. In the reign of William I Leofwine's name appears upon Stamford coins of types C.-B.⁵ I, mule I-II,⁶ III, IV, V, and VI (*Hks.* 233, 235, 236, 237, 238, and 243). In other words, Leofwine's name appears upon every type from about 1045-8 to about 1080-3, with the single exception of William I type C.-B. II (*Hks.* 234), which, according to Major Carlyon-Britton's theory, was authorized at Michaelmas 1068, and remained in issue until Michaelmas 1071.

Stamford being a private mint, it is probable that Leofwine did not receive his new reverse die for type II until the early part of 1069, during the first half of which year the mule coins of type I-II, were issued, and it is reasonable to assume that the illness and death of Abbot Brand, in the same year, followed by the interregnum prior to the appointment of Brand's successor, would interfere with the routine supply of the new obverse die; and that Leofwine, if he struck coins at all between the middle of 1069 and June 1070, would continue to issue the mule coins of type I-II. This may account for the fact that, although we have only nine coins of this mule type, representing six mints, we have no less than three specimens by Leofwine, issued at Stamford.

The presence of the mule coins, and the absence of Stamford coins of the substantive type II, is explained by the

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1897, pp. 302-8.

² Major Carlyon-Britton, "Eadward the Confessor and His Coins," *Num. Chron.*, 1905, pp. 179-205.

³ Hawkins, *Silver Coins of England*, 1887.

⁴ Hildebrand, *Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Swedish Cabinet*, 1881.

⁵ Major Carlyon-Britton, "A Numismatic History of the Reigns of William I and II," *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. ii, pp. 130-81.

⁶ A "mule" coin is one which combines the obverse of one substantive type with the reverse of another, generally of consecutive issues, the obverse being of the earlier type.

highly probable suggestion that Leofwine, before he received his new obverse die for type II, joined the retinue of Abbot Turolde, when he passed through Stamford Baron, and proceeded with him to Burh, on the 2nd of June 1070.

After the attack upon the abbey, in June 1070, we hear nothing of Hereward until the following year, though there can be little doubt that he continued to hold out in his stronghold in the Isle of Ely, and to harass the Normans at Burh; but in 1071 the Conqueror himself led an expedition against Hereward and his followers, which is thus described in the *Peterborough Chronicle*:

“Then came bishop Aylwine, and Siwart Barn, and many hundred men with them into Ely. When King William heard tell that, then ordered he out a naval force and land force, and beset the land all about, and wrought a bridge, and went in; and the naval force at the same time on the sea side. And the outlaws then all surrendered . . . except Hereward alone, and all those that would join him, whom he led out triumphantly. And the king took their ships, and weapons, and ‘many sceattæ’; and all the men he disposed of as he thought proper.”

Leofwine probably remained at Peterborough until the trouble with Hereward was at an end and the neighbourhood had become free of the roving bands of Saxons. The greater part of Turolde's knights had by this time dispersed to take possession of the abbey's lands which Turolde had granted to them and, Leofwine's presence as moneyer at Peterborough being no longer necessary, he returned to resume his duties at Stamford, where he issued coins of types C.-B. III, IV, V, and VI. According to Major Carlyon-Britton's theory, the Conqueror's third type was in issue during the years 1072-3-4, and, as Leofwine probably returned to Stamford in 1072, that date would exactly coincide with the issue of type III.

With regard to the coins struck at Peterborough Abbey, the series appears to be now represented by three specimens only, viz. two of William I type C.-B. II, struck by Leofwine during his stay there, commencing in June 1070, and ending probably in 1072, and one specimen of Stephen's third type, *Hks.* 268, which unfortunately fails to disclose a moneyer's name.¹

¹ These coins will be fully described and illustrated later.

Stephen's second type (*Hks.* 269; *Brit. Mus. Cat.* II) had been in issue about four years when Abbot Martin returned from Rome in 1146, and had nearly run its course, which would account for its apparent non-issue from either Peterborough or Stamford mints. The only other general issue of Stephen's coins was *Hks.* 268 (*Brit. Mus. Cat.* VII), in which type we find the Peterborough coin referred to above.

The issue of Stephen's last type (*Hks.* 268), of which we have none struck at Stamford, probably commenced only a short time before Stephen's death and continued in issue during the first two years of Henry II's reign, and with the possible exception of certain coins of the latter king's first issue, inscribed *WILLEM ON STA*, &c., the Peterborough coins of *Hks.* 268, were the last to be issued by the authority of the abbots of Peterborough.

The right of coining appears to have been withdrawn from, or surrendered by, the abbot in or before the reign of John, when a charter was granted to the abbot and convent of Peterborough, as is shown by a record on the Charter Roll of 16 March, 11 Henry III, 1227, of a "Grant to the abbot and convent of Peterborough of all their lands and possessions, pursuant to a charter of King John", and on the same roll, under date of the day following, 17 March, we find a full transcript of the confirmation charter in which are enumerated the lands and possessions of the monastery, but in which we find no mention of either mint or moneyers. It seems probable that the abbot's coining privileges ceased at the time of the great recoinage of 1180, when the ecclesiastical coining privileges were restricted to the Archbishops of Canterbury and of York, and to certain of the bishops. On the same roll as the last-mentioned record is entered, and under the same date, we find a further record of a "Grant to the abbot and monks of Peterborough of a weekly market on Friday at their manor of Kettering, and a yearly fair at Peterborough on the second Sunday in Lent and the seven days following". It seems possible that the privilege of a market at Kettering and of a fair at Peterborough was granted to the abbot in recompense for the surrender of his coining privileges, for it is difficult to imagine that the abbot would willingly relinquish so remunerative a possession as a mint and two moneyers without obtaining some adequate compensation.

THE ABBOT'S SECOND MONEYER

When did the abbot originally receive the grant of a second moneyer? In Hugo's *History of Burh*, under the heading "Nomina eorum, qui dederint tenementa et possessiones Sancto Petro antiquitus", we find it recorded that:

"Thurkil Hoche gave to [the Burh of] St. Peter, Colingham [Nottinghamshire], and a moneyer in Stanford and land there on this side of the water." (*Turkilus Hoche dedit Sancto Petro Colingham & monetarium in Stanford & terram ibidem ex ista parte aquae.*)¹

There can be little doubt that the passage cited above, which was probably extracted from Thurkil's charter, before the fire of 1116, in which the charter was probably burnt, records the grant of a second moneyer to the abbot, the possession of which privilege is confirmed by the bull of Pope Eugenius III,² and by the entry in the Peterborough *Black Book* cited on p. 54. Hugo's words prove conclusively that this moneyer, together with certain land, was granted in Stamford Baron, and not as Mr. Andrew claims, in Stamford, Lincolnshire,³ for Hugo was writing at Peterborough Abbey, or possibly at the abbey's important branch establishment situated in the parish of Stamford Baron, but outside the *burh*, and he says "on this side of the water", i.e. the Peterborough or Northamptonshire side of the Welland, thus adding still further confirmation of the accuracy of my claim that the mint was situated in Stamford Baron and not in Stamford, Lincolnshire.

This appears to be the earliest grant to the monastery of land within the fortified boundaries of Stamford Baron, subsequent to the building of the *burh* in 917. Hugo's record is that Thurkil gave to the monastery of St. Peter at Burh a moneyer in Stamford "and land there". He does not in any way suggest that the whole town was granted to the monastery, but merely "land there". Mr. Andrew, however, in his endeavour to show that the mint was situated in Stamford, Lincolnshire, assumes that the grant, if it referred to Stamford Baron, would necessarily include the whole

¹ "Historia Coenobii Burgensis", printed in Sparke's *Historiae Anglicanae scriptores Varii*, 1732, Book III, p. 44.

² See p. 64 *ante*.

³ *Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I*, p. 363.

town as well as the mint and all its moneyers, providing the mint was situated there; and he argues accordingly that as the grant was of one moneyer only and not the mint with all its moneyers, it must refer to Stamford on the Lincolnshire side of the river.¹ But it is overlooked that if the above assumption holds good in regard to Stamford Baron, it applies equally well to Stamford, Lincolnshire. But we know that the monastery's holding in the latter town was quite small even upwards of a century later.² It was at some period between 1155 and 1175 that the whole of the land within the *burh* of Stamford Baron again came into the monastery's possession, for Gunton, *History of the Church of Peterborough*, 1686, p. 283, records that Abbot William de Waterville (1155-75), "purchased all the Village on this side [i.e. the Peterborough side] the bridge of Stamford". This record controverts the opinion of nearly all previous writers on this subject, viz. that Stamford Baron remained uninterruptedly in the monastery's possession from the time of Eadgar onward, or in the case of Mr. Andrew, from the time of Canute.

Richard Butcher, in his *Survey and Antiquities of the Town of Stamford*, 1646, refers to an inquisition taken for the Wapentake of Nesse. This inquisition is undated, but according to Peck,³ it was taken in the fifth year of Henry III (1221). In this inquisition it is stated that: "In the town of Stamford beyond the Bridge, in the county of Northampton, the Abbot of Burh holds ten yard lands and half⁴ of the king, with part of the town of Stamford. But the inquisition cannot find by what service the said Abbot holds the said lands; and they say the said Abbot hath not given or

¹ *Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I*, p. 363. ² See p. 64 *ante*.

³ *Academia Tertia Anglicana, or the Antiquarian Annals of Stamford*, 1727.

⁴ A yard-land or virgate was an uncertain quantity of land which varied, according to locality, from 24 to 40 acres. The term yard-land was also applied to a much smaller quantity of land, as is shown by Robert Recorde in *The Ground of Artes teaching the Worke and Practice of Arithmetike*, 1543, where we read of "a rodde of londe which some call a roode, some a yardlonde, and some a farthendale . . . 4 farthendales make an acre", and from Jeake's *Λογιστικηλογία*, 1696, we learn that "a Rood is sometimes called a farthendale and sometimes a Yardland". The 10½ yard-lands referred to in the Stamford inquisition of 1221, were obviously the smaller quantity of land. At that time the rood or the smaller yard-land was a strip of land one perch (5½ yards) in width and 40 perches (220 yards) or one furlong in length, so that 10½ yard-lands would be 12,705 square yards or 2⅘ acres. From this it would appear that Abbot Waterville's actual purchase (see above) was about 1⅘ acres.

alienated the same or any part thereof." It seems fairly obvious that this "ten yard lands and half", are identical with the "land there" of Thurkil's grant; the "43 men having houses with land adjoining" recorded in the *Black Book of Peterborough*,¹ and the "fifty-nine mansuras of land &c." scheduled in the bull or charter granted by Eugenius III.² The reason for the inquisition's inability to discover by what service the abbot held the "ten yard lands and half" of the king was, in all probability, that Thurkil's Charter, by which the land was granted, was consumed in the fire of 1116 and had not been replaced, nor had confirmatory charters been applied for, and the terms upon which the land was held is not stated in either the *Black Book of Peterborough*, or in the bull of Eugenius III.

Mr. Andrew, after citing Hugo's record, says: "On his accession, Canute had granted East Anglia to Thurkil the Earl. Hence it was Thurkil's duty to confirm the rights of the monastery", &c. But why should it be Thurkil's duty as Earl of East Anglia to confirm the rights of the Abbey of Peterborough? Neither Peterborough nor Stamford formed any part of the East Anglian earldom. Both Peterborough and the two Stamfords were in Mercia and would thus come under the control of Eadric Streona, who was not the type of man likely to brook interference in his earldom.

A statement that Canute added Stamford to East Anglia is made by Peck in his *Annals of Stamford*, but he fails to adduce evidence in support of that statement, nor does such evidence appear to be forthcoming from other quarters, and it appears probable that Peck, knowing of Thurkil's grant of a moneyer and certain land in Stamford, and being unable to account otherwise for Thurkil's authority to make such grant, assumed that Stamford, i.e. Stamford Baron, had been added by Canute to Thurkil's earldom of East Anglia. Moreover, a glance at the map shows the extreme improbability of such transference of a small isolated piece of land from Mercia to East Anglia, to be almost immediately re-transferred to Mercia.

Thurkil the tall was a Dane of noble birth, the son of Harold who was earl in Scania. He was a typical Viking, tall, strong and valorous, and must have been a masterly

¹ See p. 54 *ante*.

² See p. 64 *ante*.

man, one in whom warriors readily recognized the qualities of chieftainship. It is evident that the English, too, were impressed by the eminence of the tall earl. According to the sagas Thurkil was Canute's foster-father. Such information as we possess concerning Canute's childhood is somewhat obscure. It is merely that he was not brought up at the Danish court, but was fostered by Thurkil the tall, one of the chiefs at Jomburg and brother of Earl Sigvaldi. When the young prince became king of England, Thurkil was exalted to a position next to that of Canute himself.

In the first year of Canute's reign there stood about the throne three prominent leaders, three military chiefs, to whom in a great measure the king owed his crown. There was the sly and jealous Eadric Streona, Earl of Mercia, Eric, for fifteen years earl and viceroy in Norway, now the ruler of Northumbria, and Thurkil the tall. Canute gave his confidence to the lordly Viking, for a stay of nearly ten years in England as Viking invader, as chief of Æthelred's mercenaries, and as Canute's chief assistant in his campaign against the English, had given Thurkil a wide acquaintance among the magnates of the land and considerable insight into English affairs. We have sufficient evidence to allow the conclusion that for some years Thurkil held a position in the kingdom second only to that of the king himself. Whenever his name appears in Canute's charters among the earls who witness royal grants, it holds first place.

In 1019 Canute went to Denmark and stayed until the following year. During his absence Thurkil appears to have acted as regent, for in a royal proclamation that was issued in 1020, before the king's return, he seems to act on the king's behalf in the general administration of justice whenever royal interference should become necessary:

"Should any one prove so rash, clerk or layman, Dane or Angle, as to violate the laws of the Church or the rights of my kingship or any secular statute, and refuse to do penance according to the instructions of my bishops, or to desist from this evil, then I request Thurkil the Earl, yea, even command him, to bend the offender to right, if he is able to do so."¹

In case the earl is unable to manage the business alone,

¹ Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, vol. i, p. 274.

Canute promises to assist. There is something in this procedure that reminds one of the later Norman official, the justiciar, who was chief of the administrative forces when the king was in England and governed as the king's lieutenant when the ruler was abroad. That Thurkil's dignity was not a new creation at the time of the proclamation is evident from the preamble, in which Canute sends "greetings to his archbishops and bishops, and Thurkil earl, and all his earls and all his subjects". The language of the preamble also suggests that Thurkil acted as the king's deputy during Canute's absence in Denmark.¹

Thurkil, in his official capacity as earl, could not make grants of lands, &c., outside his earldom. The only period during which he had the power to dispose of royal possessions was in 1019-20, when he acted as Canute's regent, and there can be little doubt that it was at that time, as Canute's deputy, and possibly acting on the king's instructions, that he granted to Peterborough Abbey the moneyer and certain land in Stamford Baron, as is recorded by Hugo Candidus.²

In November 1021 Thurkil was outlawed. The reason for this act is not clear, but it was possibly prompted by Canute's fear of Thurkil's popularity and influence. The banishment of the earl does not appear to have been wholly the result of royal disfavour, for a few months later Canute and Thurkil were reconciled, and the old earl was given a position in Denmark analogous to the one that he held in England, or a position still higher, for in 1023 Canute made him viceroy in Denmark. Thurkil did not regain his English earldom but, contrary to the opinion expressed by a majority of historians, Thurkil appears to have returned to England, temporarily at least, for Kemble prints a charter of 1024, which is signed by "Thurcyl Hoga",³ as "minister". Mr. Andrew,⁴ in quoting Hugo Candidus's record of Thurkil "Hoche's" grant suggests that "Hoche" means "the Hold". Such, however, does not appear to be the case. The word "Hoche" appears to be quite unknown in any other recorded document and was probably an error on Hugo's part owing to his imperfect knowledge of the English tongue.⁵ The

¹ Larson, *Canute the Great*.

³ *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. iv, p. 31, No. 741.

⁴ *Numismatic History of Henry I*, p. 362.

⁵ See pp. 61-2 *ante*.

² See p. 72 *ante*.

word should presumably be *Hoga-*, *hoh-*, "prudent", "careful", "anxious", "thoughtful". Moreover, Thurkil, acting as Canute's regent and holding the rank of earl, would not be described by the inferior rank of "Hold".¹

In conclusion I beg to tender my best thanks to the officials of the Coin Department at the British Museum, and to the officials at other museums for their unfailing courtesy and assistance in enabling me to obtain particulars of coins in their charge and for providing me with casts of coins for the purpose of illustration. My thanks are also due to those of my fellow collectors who have so kindly supplied me with particulars of coins in their cabinets, and I am even more indebted to those who have allowed me to acquire specimens from their collections and who have thus materially assisted me in compiling the following record of the coins issued at Stamford Baron, the most prolific of the Northamptonshire mints. Owing to the long period over which my study of the Stamford mint has extended, many of my numismatic friends from whom I have received the above favours have "gone beyond", but my gratitude is none the less sincere.

During the past forty-five years I have availed myself of every opportunity of acquiring coins struck at Stamford mint and I now have a series of nearly 400 pennies issued from that mint between the reign of Æthelstan and that of Henry II. In addition, I have carefully noted all other Stamford coins that have come under my notice during that period, and in the following descriptive lists of coins of the Stamford and Peterborough mints I beg to present to my readers the results of my labour in that direction which, I may add, has been a labour of love.

¹ "Thurferth Jarl and the holds" (see p. 39 *ante*). "Hold" would probably correspond with the modern "Colonel".

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE LONG-CROSS COINAGE OF HENRY III

1247-1250

By WM. C. WELLS

THE ABBOT'S DIE AT ST. EDMUNDSBURY

ABOUT Michaelmas 1247, soon after the Long-Cross coinage was ordered, some doubt appears to have arisen as to the Abbot of St. Edmundsbury's right to a die, and the abbot found it necessary to produce at the Exchequer evidence in support of his claim, as is shown by the following record which is entered on the *King's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll*, Michaelmas Term, 32-3 Henry III, 1247:—

“Brother Edmund de Walpole and Brother Thomas, monks of Saint Edmund's came before the barons [of the Exchequer] and showed that the Abbot of Saint Edmund's had and ought to have by right a die and Exchange at Saint Edmund's as fully and as freely as the Exchange at London with everything belonging to a die and Exchange, and that the lord King ought in no way to meddle therewith, except only when he receives per the Lord Treasurer a die [from them] in London, and thereof they brought a charter of Saint Eadweard [the Confessor] the king, written in English in this wise: (Here follows an attempt on the part of the scribe to transcribe Eadweard the Confessor's charter to Abbot Baldwin, written in old English, a language with which the scribe was obviously unacquainted. For the transcript, as given by the 13th-century scribe, see p. 102, *post*.)¹

¹ Eadweard the Confessor's charter to Abbot Baldwin, confirming the coining privileges which appear to have been granted to his predecessor, Leofstan, who died on 1 August 1065, is transcribed in the *Monasticon*, vol. iii, p. 138, and is as follows:

“Eoþaþ kīng ƿæt Aylmæþ biſcōp, ⁊ ƿiſþ eþl ⁊ Toly ⁊ alle mine cheyner on Eþcangle fæderlike. And ic kīthe iþu ꝥ ic habbe unnen Baloeþme abbot one munetere ƿiþ mnen Seynt Eoþmunor biſc, alro fælike on alle þing to habben, alro me mme on hanoe rtonden oþer on anī mine buþgh aloþe fælike. ƿoþ re iþu alle fæder.”

(I king Eadweard greet bishop Aylmæþ, and earl Gyrth, and Toli, and all my thanes in East Anglia, amicably: and I make known to you that I have granted to abbot Baldwin one minter within Saint Edmundsbury, to have in all things as freely as mine have stood in my service or in any of my towns, most freely. God be the friend of you all.)

"And King Henry the first conceded that the church of Saint Eadmund may have one moneyer in the ville of Saint Eadmund's as freely as ever they had one.

"And King William Rufus ordered his minister in Norfolk and Suffolk that Abbot Baldwin of Saint Eadmund's may have all his customary rights both within and without the Borough and as concerns the moneyer and exchange he may have them as ever best he had them in the time of King Eadward [the Confessor] and in the time of his father [i.e. the Conqueror].

"And King Richard conceded that the said church may have one moneyer in the ville of Saint Eadmund's as freely as ever they had.

"And King John conceded that the Abbot and Convent of Saint Eadmund's may have one die for making money within the ville of Saint Eadmund's and that the same money might be made, he willed and firmly ordered that they may have a die for that purpose in the aforesaid place for ever with all that pertains to a die of that kind.

"And King Henry the third conceded that the before-named Church may have one moneyer in the ville of Saint Eadmund's as freely, &c. The date of this confirmation is the 30th day of January in the [King's] 11th year [1227]."

THE ST. EDMUNDSBURY MINT IN 1247

The earliest issue of Henry III "Long-Cross" coins, Lawrence Class I*, which read *HENRICVS REX—ANGLIE TERCII*, and thus fail to exhibit either moneyer's name or mint-name, are generally considered to have emanated entirely from the London mint. But the following two warrants which were issued on 6 December 1247, and are entered on the *Close Roll* for that date, appear to indicate that dies were granted to the Abbot of St. Edmundsbury for the purpose of striking coins in Class I*:—

(1) "*Of the die to be delivered to the monks of St. [Edmund].* Mandate to W. de Haverhill, King's treasurer, Edward of Westminster and William Hardel: that they may hand over to the monks of St. Edmund a certain die newly cut for the minting their money at times; as of right they have been accustomed to do and ought; saving to the King in all things the liberties and dignities of his crown as are

discerned to pertain to the die. Marlborough, 6th day of December (1247).¹

(2) "Mandate to Edward of Westminster that he may deliver to the monks of St. Edmund who are coming to him with letters of the King for a certain die, twelve *oboli* of Muz of the King's gift which he wills should be attached to the tomb of the blessed Martyr Edmund as the King was not there this year. Marlborough, 6th day of December, 1247."^{2,3}

¹ Printed in the *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1247-51*, p. 12.

² References to *denarii de Muz', Mus' or Musc'*, and to *oboli de Muz, Mus' or Musc'* are frequent in the thirteenth-century rolls, but so far as I am aware, no numismatic writer has yet advanced satisfactory evidence as to their place of origin. Gold was not coined by Henry III until his 41st year, 1257, yet gold coins were current in his dominions prior to that time. In his 35th year he commanded Philip Luvel to pay the whole sum which he owed to the king on the feast of St. Eadweard, in gold money, in bezants, or *oboli de Mus'*, and other gold money (Close Roll, 2 Oct. 35 Henry III, 1251), from which it is clear that these pence and halfpence of *Mus'* were of gold. In the Liberate Rolls we find many entries which show that *oboli de Mus'*, or *Musc'*, constituted the usual medium of offerings by Henry III at the shrines of various saints. They also show that the *denarius de Mus'* equalled 30 English silver pence and the *obolus* 15 silver pence. In the Liberate Rolls we find, *inter alia*, the following records of the purchase of halfpennies of *Mus'*, by the king's order:

26 Dec. 1238. "20s. for 16 *oboli de Musc'* bought and sent to the king at Winchester."

19 Feb. 1239. "25s. for *oboli Muc'* bought for the king's use."

14 Apr. 1239. "45s. to buy 36 *ob. Musc'* for the king's use."

25 June 1239. "105s. 4d. for 86 *oboli de Musc'* bought from Adan de Shoredich, goldsmith, for the king's use, by the king's order."

9 Feb. 1240. "8 marks 5s. 4d. for 84 *oboli de Musc'* bought by the king's order and delivered to the king for offerings on the day of the conversion of St. Paul and at the Purification."

26 Apr. 1240. "116s. for 88 *obuli Musc'* bought and delivered to the king by his order to make his offerings."

7 July 1240. "Given St. Edmund on Ascension Day, 20s. for 15 *obuli de Musc'* bought by the king's order and delivered to the king on the following Whitsunday."

8 Aug. 1240. "4 marks 6s. for 43 *obuli de Musc'* and a bezant bought by the king's order for his offerings, whereof he offered 20 *obuli de Musc'* to St. Eadweard on the morrow of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, and 24 *obuli* and a bezant there on the day of St. Peter Chains. And 32s. for 24 *obuli de Musc'* bought by the king's order and delivered to the king on the day of the Lord's Transfiguration."

15 Aug. 1240. "18s. 8d. for 14 *obuli de Musc'* bought by the king's order and offered to the Church of St. Paul's, London, at the feast of its dedication."

17 Mar. 1242. "15s. for 12 *oboli de Musc'* worth 15d. each which the king offered at the shrine of St. Eadmund on the Monday after St. Gregory."

25 Mar. 1242. "Compute to the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk . . . 17s. 9d. for 9 *oboli Musc'* worth 15d. each and 3 bezants worth 26d. each placed on the shrine of St. Eadmund against the king's arrival before mid-Lent."

³ Printed in the *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1247-51*, p. 12.

We know that Mr. Lawrence's Class I* of the Long-Cross coinage did not become current until 1 November 1247. The die referred to in the above warrants was ready for delivery six weeks later. It is improbable that the new coinage was ready for issue exactly on the appointed day; and as the St. Edmundsbury die would probably be ordered at least a fortnight before it was ready for delivery the order must have been given within a fortnight of the inception of the new coinage. Consequently there can be little doubt that this die was for coins of Class I*. Moreover, only twenty days after the delivery of the first die, *i.e.*, on 26 December, another die, to enable the abbot to make "new money", was ready for delivery, as is shown by the warrant transcribed below:—

"Of a die to be handed over. Mandate to W. de Haverhill, his treasurer, W. Hardel and Edward of Westminster to deliver to Edmund the sub-sacristan of St. Edmunds and the messengers of the Abbot and convent of St. Edmund a certain die, newly cut, having first taken from them the old die they have; that they, the Abbot and convent, using the new die may cause new money to be made therewith, as with the old die they caused to be made the old money before the change to our new coinage. Although the King's Exchequer is not at present in session nonetheless see that this our mandate is fully obeyed."¹

At the same time was issued also the following warrant:—

"Concerning a die. The King to the Abbot and convent of St. Edmund. Though we may have been led without difficulty to concede to you a newly cut die, we command and expressly enjoin you in this, that so as you desire to enjoy the liberty of this die and all other your liberties, so may you have used the said die in the manner in which it [*sic*] is used in our city of London and in other towns of our Kingdom."²

As the abbot had already received a die since the inception of the Long-Cross coinage, and the new die which was ready for delivery on 26 December 1247, was to enable him to make "new money", which could not have been the coins

¹ *Close Roll*, 26 Dec. 1247. Printed in the *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1247-51*, p. 101.

² *Ibid.*

of the **REX TERCII** class, for we know they were not in issue until after the middle of 1248,¹ this new die, ready for delivery on 26 December 1247, must therefore have been for striking coins of the second variety, Mr. Lawrence's Class I, of which class St. Edmundsbury coins are of considerable rarity, only three or possibly four specimens being on record, two of which, from the Brussels hoard, were in the late Mr. A. H. Baldwin's possession.

The dies specified in the warrants of 6 December 1247 could have been in use for only a short period and coins of



FIG. 1. HENRY III PENNY OF LAWRENCE CLASS I*, NOVEMBER–DECEMBER 1247. (W. C. Wells.)



FIG. 2. HENRY III PENNY. THE REVERSE OF CLASS I* "MULED" WITH THE OBTVERSE OF CLASS Vc. (W. C. Wells.)

substantive Class I* struck at St. Edmundsbury are unknown, but in my possession is a curious "mule" coin which combines the obverse of Lawrence Class Vc with a reverse similar to Class I* but reading **ANGLIA TERCII S**. The obverse is from a perfectly normal Class Vc die made with normal official irons and the reverse is from a die made with the official irons with which the dies for the normal Class I* coins were made.² The reverse differs from that of normal coins of Class I* in reading **ANGLIA TERCII S** instead of **ANGLIA TERCII**. Long-Cross coins emanating from the St. Edmundsbury mint are variously inscribed **S'EDMUND**, **S'EDM**, **SAINTED**, **SANTED**, **SAN-ED**, **S'ED**, **SA**, &c., and on the above-described "mule" coin, the reverse of which I have little doubt was struck from one of the dies specified in the warrants of 6 December 1247 we have the ultimate minimum contraction "S" for Saint Edmundsbury.

¹ See pp. 84–5, *post*.

² I emphasize these details because the coin in question is abnormal and, on account of its abnormality and because it does not exactly accord with accepted theories, the coin has been dismissed as a "continental imitation". The only argument advanced against this coin appears to be that "it should not be", as the old dies should have been returned at the time of the receipt of new dies.

It may be objected that a period of six years separates the obverse and reverse dies, and also that, theoretically at least, the die specified in the warrant of 6 December 1247 should have been returned at the time of the delivery of the die specified in the warrant of 26 December, but it may be observed that the former warrant contains no such condition as is laid down in the latter warrant, *viz.*, that W. de Haverhill and others were to deliver to the abbot's messengers a certain die "having first taken from them the old die they have". Similar conditions governed the issue of new dies to other mints, yet we have more than one instance in which the obverse and reverse dies from which a "mule" coin was struck were not of consecutive issues. Probably the best known example is that which combines the obverse of a coin of Eadweard the Confessor with the reverse of a "Bonnet" type penny of William I. In this case also there would be a period of six years separating the date of the obverse die from that of the reverse. It appears probable that in each case the return of a die was omitted and that, again in each case, the old die was accidentally used. In the Carlyon-Britton collection was a "mule" coin of Eadweard the Confessor, which combined an obverse of C.-B. type vii (*Hawkins*, 227), with a reverse of C.-B. type ix (*Hawkins*, 222), which would again indicate a period of about six years between the date of the obverse and reverse dies.

THE OPENING OF THE PROVINCIAL MINTS

Mr. Lawrence, in "The Long-Cross Coinage of Henry III and Edward I",¹ refers to "a complete list of the provincial mints and their moneyers as ordered in 1247", and later, on the same page, he says: "It will be shown that the provincial mints started work one year later than those of London, Canterbury, and St. Edmundsbury." The following warrants, however, neither of which have been previously printed in a numismatic publication, show that the provincial mints were not ordered until 1248; that certain of them commenced work about the middle of that year, and that the remainder were in operation by about the end of the year or, in some cases, by the latter end of January 1249:²

"The King to the bailiffs and good men of Norwich.

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. ix, p. 156.

² See p. 98, *post*.

We command you and firmly enjoin that without delay in the presence of your full court you cause to be elected by the oath of twenty-four good and lawful men, four of your more trusty and prudent fellow-townsmen who may best know and faithfully fulfil the duties of our moneyers in your said city; and four others of like fidelity and prudence to be custodians of our dies, and two fit and prudent goldsmiths of unblemished repute with the knowledge and ability to act as assayers of our moneys to be coined there. And see that the aforesaid men, moneyers, keepers and assayers be such as you have appointed and will be responsible for, to us and our dear brother, R. Earl of Cornwall, not only for the good conduct of our mint in your said city, but also for the moneys that shall be delivered to them and for the profits to arise from the same; and see that they, naming each of them, be with your letters patent at our Exchange in London before our treasurer and barons to do there what according to ancient custom and approved assise ought to be done, so that they be at our exchequer before our said barons on Sunday before the feast of St. Gregory next [*i.e.* 15 March]. Know also that our said brother will cause you to receive £1,000 sterling to sustain the Exchange and coin new money; so shall you make to him your letters patent *in forma presentibus inclusa*, which said letters you shall send to the said earl on receiving the said £1,000. Witness the King at Westminster, 26 February [1248].”¹

Similar warrants were sent to the mayor, &c., of Northampton, Exeter, Winchester, and Lincoln.

The foregoing warrant is printed in the *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1247-51*, pp. 107-8, and a very abridged version of the following warrant is printed by Madox:²

“Mandate to the bailiffs and men of Wallingford, that forthwith in the presence of their full court they cause to be elected by the oath of twenty-four good and lawful men four of the more trustworthy and prudent men of their town such as may have a better knowledge and ability to perform the office of King’s moneyer in their said town; and another four men of like trustworthiness and pru-

¹ *Close Roll*, 26 Feb., 32 Henry III, 1248, memb. 13^d. See also p. 104, *post*.

² T. Madox, *History of the Exchequer*, 1769, vol. ii, pp. 88-9.

dence for the custody of the King's dies; and two fit and prudent goldsmiths of unblemished fidelity with knowledge and ability to act as assayers of the money to be minted there; and one fit and trustworthy clerk with knowledge how to supervise the custody of the Exchange. And let them see to it that all these men, moneyers, custodians, assayers and clerk, whatsoever they be, that they both know and are able not only how to conduct in a fit manner the office of King's moneyer there but shall be able to account to the King and his brother the earl of Cornwall both for the money which shall be handed to them and for the profit of the same; and let them send the said men separately named with the King's letters patent to the Exchange at London to be before the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer to do there what according to custom and ancient approved assise they ought to do there. So that they be at the Exchange before the said Barons in the octaves of All Saints [1 to 8 Nov.]. And let them know that the King's said brother will cause the King to have one thousand pounds sterling to sustain the Exchange and to mint the money. And by the same men send the Common Seal of your said town with which they shall be able to give to the King and his brother security both for the money to be handed to them to sustain the Exchange and to mint the new money in their town as for the profits to be derived therefrom; and let them have with them there and then this writ.

"Witness Edward of Westminster at Westminster, October 10, 32 Henry III.

"In the same manner it was commanded to the bailiffs and men of Bristol, Ilchester, Hereford, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Nottingham, Carlisle, Shrewsbury and Wilton."¹

From the foregoing warrants it will be seen that the mints at Northampton, Norwich, Exeter, Winchester, and Lincoln, all of which issued "Rex Terce" coins, were in operation several months earlier than were the mints at Wallingford, Bristol, Hereford, Ilchester, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Carlisle, Shrewsbury, and Wilton, where only "Rex III" coins were issued. It will also be observed that on 10 October 1248 a warrant was sent to the bailiffs, &c., of Nottingham in the

¹ *Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll*, 10 Oct., 32 Henry III, 1248. See also pp. 104-5, *post*.

same terms as those sent to Bristol, Wallingford, &c., but as no Nottingham coins of Henry III are known to exist we can only assume that the warrant was sent to Nottingham in error, or that it was afterwards cancelled.

I have failed to discover any warrant authorizing the reopening of the royal or civic mints at York, Oxford, or Gloucester in 1248, but "Rex Terци" coins issued from those three mints prove that they were in operation from the commencement of the provincial issue of the Long-Cross coinage; thus, we may assume with every confidence that warrants, of which we have no record, were issued on or about 26 February 1248 for the reopening of the royal mints at York, Oxford, and Gloucester.

Preparations for opening the mints from which "Rex Terци" coins emanated appear to have been well advanced in July 1248, when we read of power given to Jordan de Brunswick:

"To conduct from beyond seas to England at the king's expense ministers cunning in any kind of minting and exchange of silver (*monetarie et cambii argenti*), to do in the realm what pertains to the business of each and to receive their wages according to the approved customs of the king's exchange (*cambii nostri*). And grant to the ministers that they stay safely in the realm and return safely."¹

A few days later, on 20 July 1248, was issued the following warrant authorizing the reopening of the Archbishop of York's mint:

"*Of the dies of the Archbishop of York.*—Because the king is satisfied by inquisition he directed to be made that archbishop Walter and his predecessor have by custom had and ought to have two dies and not less in the city of York whenever we the king have four dies [there], the said archbishop ought by the same custom to have more dies; so, that is to say, he shall always have the third die whenever the king shall decide to multiply his dies beyond four. Mandate to W. Hardel, keeper of his Change, to cause the same archbishop to have two [newly cut] dies in the said city, according to what has already been said."²

¹ *Patent Roll*, 16 July 1248.

² *Close Roll*, 20 July 1248. See also p. 105, *post*, and *Num. Chron.*, 1931, pp. 276–9.

On the same date were also issued the following two warrants:

(1) "Power to John le Franceys to receive the oath of fealty from the men of the city of York to be elected to the office belonging to the dies of Walter archbishop of York, in that city, and to do other things which are convenient for the minting, according to law and the custom of the realm.

"Mandate also to the mayor and citizens of York to select by the oath of twelve good men of the city, three of the more approved men thereof, to wit one to be moneyer, another to keep the assay of the archbishop's exchange, and the third to be keeper of the dies in the city and to cause them to come before the said John at his next coming to York to hear and to do the king's order; and mandate to him to go to York on such day as shall be convenient to receive the oath and to do other things to the said minting (*monetaria*)."¹

(2) "Power to John le Fraunceys to receive the oath of fealty of the men of the city of York to be selected for the office belonging to the dies of the archbishop of York, and to do other things convenient for the minting, as above."²

In the Register of Walter de Gray, Archbishop of York, 1216-56, we find it recorded that:

"In the memoranda of the 33rd year of King Henry [III] in the Term of Holy Trinity are contained these words: The sheriff of York is commanded that by the oath of twelve upright and lawful men of the city of York he cause to be selected, in place of Hugh Sampson who—as is said—is not master of himself, two of the upright and lawful men of the same city who shall be fit for the custody of the dies of Walter archbishop of York; and that he cause them when elected to come before John Francigena at his next coming to York to hear and to act on the King's precept and this writ. And J. F. is commanded that the King has given him power to receive an oath from the two men of York, who are elected for the custody of the dies, &c."

The warrants cited above were issued about three months earlier than those issued for the opening of the royal mints

¹ *Patent Roll*, 20 July 1248.

² *Ibid.*, 22 July 1248.

which struck only "Rex III" coins, and about five months before the cessation of the "Rex Terce" issue; and it is difficult to account for the non-appearance of the latter type issued by Thomas, the archbishop's moneyer. The warrants also indicate that—although we have Long-Cross coins struck by only one of the archbishop's moneyers—two sets of dies were issued, as both dies and *custodes cuneorum* are referred to in the plural.

THE CLOSING OF THE PROVINCIAL MINTS

Mr. Lawrence, in "The Long-Cross Coinage of Henry III and Edward I", says: "Messrs. Fox have documentary evidence concerning the time of the closure of these mints which points to the year 1250." Unfortunately Messrs. Fox's evidence has not been published. No evidence has yet appeared in a numismatic publication which goes to prove even an approximate date for the cessation of coining at the provincial mints, and, so far as I am aware, the following writ, which is recorded in the *Close Roll* under date 24 June 1250,¹ is the only piece of documentary evidence bearing upon this question that has previously appeared in print:

"As the King's die has been moved from the town of Bristol and money is no longer to be made there, mandate to the mayor and bailiffs of Bristol that the houses which the King's moneyers occupied for the minting of money they cause without delay to be given back to them to whom they belong, so that no claims as to them be heard again."

The foregoing writ shows that at Bristol, coinage had ceased at some time previously to June 1250. The discovery of this writ was a step in the direction of determining the date of closure of all the provincial mints. I have, however, recently discovered at the Public Record Office certain documents which enable us to now put a definite date to the cessation of the coining activities of the provincial mints. In the *Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll*, Hilary Term (23 Jan.—12 Feb.), 34 Henry III, 1250,² occurs the following entry:

"Concerning the assays to be returned to the King and the

¹ Printed in the *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1247–51, p. 297.

² Membrane 7^d. See also, p. 105, *post*.

Earl. Every town throughout England in which minting was done should restore to the King and Earl the assay[s] which the Warden[s] of the mint[s] received."

These assays are described in an interesting document in the British Museum,¹ presumably written in 1248, from which I extract the following:

"That fraud may not enter into the lawful coinage of the realm, by counsel of all the aforesaid persons and for the advantage of the public weal, let two assays be made, the weight of each being ten shillings, of which one shall be of pure silver, the other of such metal of which it is intended to strike the new money: of which two assays, each impressed with a stamp [*i.e.*, a die] shall be deposited in the King's treasury at Westminster under the seal of the Mayor of London.

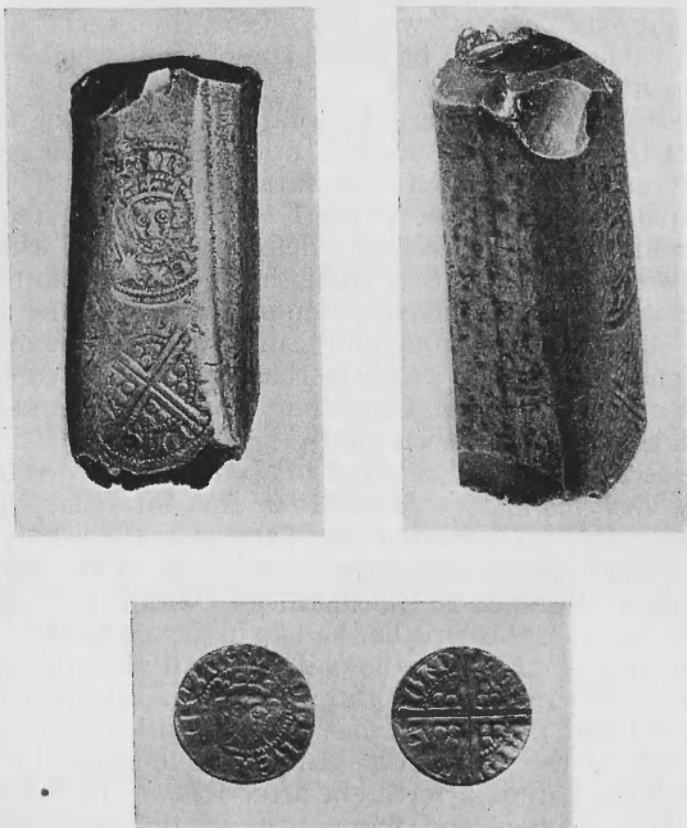
"In like manner were several assays made in form as aforesaid and impressed with a stamp in divers authorised places where a mint had been erected, namely, at London, two weighs of forty pence, one known to be of pure silver, the other of current coin (*aliud ad monetam*); at Canterbury, two weighs of the same kind; at St. Edmund, Norwich, Oxford, Northampton, Lincoln, Winchester, Gloucester, Exeter, York, and Ilchester in the same manner."

Only one specimen of "assay" of this period has survived to the present day. It is preserved in the Museum at the Royal Mint and it recently formed the subject of a short paper by Mr. L. A. Lawrence.² This "assay" or "standard" cannot be one of those ordered in 1248 as it bears an impression of the die inscribed **PHILIP ON LUND**, and Philip de Cambio was not appointed moneyer until 1278. The weight of later "assays" must have varied from those ordered in 1248, for that described and illustrated by Mr. Lawrence has obviously had several pieces cut from it, probably for purposes of assay, and even in its present condition it weighs 7·315 oz., which is considerably more than ten shillings.

¹ Brit. Mus. Hargrave MS. 313, folios 96 b-97. Transcribed in Hall's *Red Book of the Exchequer*, pp. 1072-81, and by Ellis in the appendix to his *Chronicle of John of Oxenides*, pp. 315-25. See also pp. 105-6, *post*.

² "On a Silver Standard for the Coinage of Edward I", *Num. Chron.*, 1931, pp. 197-200.

In 1198, in his account of the farm of the Exchange of all England, Guy de Vou accounts for eighty-six assays or "essays" which were allowed to him for £83 17s. to render



TWO VIEWS OF THE 'ASSAY' OR 'STANDARD' DESCRIBED BY MR. LAWRENCE, AND OF A PENNY STRUCK FROM DIES SIMILAR TO THOSE IMPRESSED UPON THE "ASSAY".¹

into lawful money.² This store of "essays" obviously represents an accumulation at the Exchequer extending over many years. The amount of current coin Guy had to produce

¹ I am indebted to the Council of the Royal Numismatic Society for the loan of these blocks and for permission to use them in connexion with this article. W. C. W.

² "Compotus Widonis de Vou de firma Cambii Totius Anglie" (*sub* "London and Middlesex")—"Et de quater .xx. et .vj. essais que computantur ei pro quater .xx. li. et .lxxvij. s. ad redigendum in legalum monetam." *Pipe Roll*, 10 Richard I, 1198.

from the "essays" as shown by the sum total of his account, allowed him the usual mintage charge of sixpence in the pound. When the minting charge is added—without going into minute fractions—the amount of coin produced from the eighty-six "essays" was £86, or 20s. from each "essay", which would probably be about the original weight of the specimen illustrated above.

The warrant of January–February 1250, ordering the return of the assays is a sure indication that the coinage had nearly run its course; but that warrant was probably issued subsequently to another which I recently discovered, and from which we can ascertain a definite date after which no coins were issued, at least from the provincial mints, and as the warrant cited above orders the return of the assays from "every town throughout England in which minting was done", it appears probable that coinage ceased before Easter 1250, at London, Canterbury and St. Edmundsbury, as well as at the provincial mints.

The second warrant, referred to above, is recorded on the *King's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll* for Hilary Term, 34 Henry III, 1250, membrane 7, and is as follows:—

"Oxford, Berks and other counties, as to the mints in England. Mandate to the sheriff [of Oxford] that as soon as he has seen this writ he shall go in person to the King's mint at Oxford and without delay shall send the King's dies at that mint to the Barons of the Exchequer under his seal and that of the mayor of Oxford by one of the keepers of the same dies. And he shall cause to come before the barons a fortnight after Easter [10 April] the warden, changer and moneyer[s] of the said mint to answer the King for the issues of the said mint during the time they were the King's officials in the said mint. And let him have this writ with him there.

"Mandates issued in the same manner to the sheriff of Berkshire concerning the mint at Wallingford; and to the sheriff of Northampton, and to those of Gloucestershire, Wilts, Herefordshire and Shropshire [concerning the mints at Northampton, Gloucester, Wilton, Hereford and Shrewsbury, to be before the barons] three weeks after Easter [17 April]; and to the sheriffs of Southampton, Lincoln, Norfolk and Somerset [concerning the mints at Winchester, Lincoln, Norwich and Ilchester] for a month

after Easter [24 April]; and to the sheriffs of Devon, Cumberland, Yorkshire and Northumberland [concerning the mints at Exeter, Carlisle, York and Newcastle-on-Tyne]. As well as to the dies of the Archbishop as to their own.”¹

There can be no doubt that coining at the provincial mints ceased at the end of January or very early in February 1250, for the following warrants were issued in Hilary Term of that year, *i.e.*, before 12 February:

“*Northamptonshire*. Mandate to the sheriff that he cause the assayers, exchangers and other ministers of the king’s exchange at Northampton to have their arrears, which are behindhand, from the issues of the said exchange, so that we may not have to complain again, and so that they may answer for the said issues by Monday next after the ascension of our Lord [9 May].

“In the same manner Mandate to the Sheriff of Northumberland for ministers &c., and moneyers and exchangers of the said county, on the morrow of Saint John the Baptist [25 June]. And the Sheriff of Herefordshire for exchangers, moneyers and ministers of the exchange at Hereford.”

(*King’s Remembrancer’s Memoranda Roll*, Hilary Term, 34 Henry III, 1250.)

THE AMOUNT OF COIN ISSUED FROM THE PROVINCIAL MINTS

We have seen from the foregoing warrants the dates of the opening and of the closing of the various provincial mints, and it would be of considerable interest if we could now ascertain the amount of coin issued from those mints during the period of issue of the Long-Cross coinage. A full account of the working of each mint was prepared, probably about Easter 1250, but with one exception, that of Shrewsbury, they have failed to survive the vicissitudes of time. As direct evidence is not forthcoming, we may be able to deduce from indirect evidence the information we desire.

On the *King’s Remembrancer’s Memoranda Roll* for Trinity Term, 34 Henry III, 1250, membrane 13, is recorded the following warrant:—

“Henry by the grace of God, &c., to the sheriff of

¹ See also p. 106, *post*.

Northamptonshire, greeting. As it was provided by our dear and faithful Richard, earl of Cornwall, our dear brother, and J. le Maunsell, provost of Beverley, and the barons of the Exchequer that each exchanger in every town in which we cause our money to be minted, other than in the cities of London and Canterbury, should have yearly nine marks only and that each clerk should have yearly six marks only as and for their stipends; and that the moneyers should pay the stipends of the custodians of our dies out of their own portion. We enjoin thee to distrain our exchanger in Northampton in his lands and chattels for the return to us of the 7*l.* 1*s.* and 6*d.* which he received from our moneyers there more than he ought for his stipend; and the clerk for the return to us of the 4*l.* 14*s.* and 6*d.* which he received from our same moneyers more than was due for his stipend; and our moneyers, for the return to us of the 14*l.* which the custodians of our dies had of our money, which amount the said moneyers should have paid to the said custodians out of their own portion: so that thou hast all the said moneys at our Exchange in London on the morrow of Michaelmas for delivery there to the keepers of the said Exchange, and have [with thee] this writ &c.

“Witness: J. Francis, at Westminster the 28th day of July in the 34th year of our reign [1250].”¹

On the *Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll*, of the same date as before, is entered a similar warrant but with slightly different wording, addressed to the sheriff of Oxfordshire. On the same day similar warrants were sent to the sheriffs of Northumberland, Yorkshire, Wiltshire, Southampton, Norfolk, Lincolnshire, Gloucestershire, and Devon, concerning the mints at Newcastle-on-Tyne, York, Wilton, Winchester, Norwich, Lincoln, Gloucester, and Exeter; the amounts to be collected differing in each case.

The exchangers and clerks being paid a fixed stipend, the amounts due from them does not assist us in our inquiry; but I will endeavour to show from the sums due from the moneyers in regard to the *custodes cuneorum*, how much money was struck at each of the mints enumerated above, as those sums obviously represent, in each case, the full

¹ See also p. 106, *post*.

amount paid to the *custodes cuneorum* for their stipend during the whole period of issue of the Long-Cross coinage.

It is clear from the foregoing warrants, and also from the original order, which they cite, that the stipend of the exchangers and clerks employed at the provincial mints differed in amount from the stipend paid to corresponding officers employed in the mint at London and at Canterbury.¹

The basis on which *custodes cuneorum* were paid at London and Canterbury, we know from the following writ:

"For Custodians of the dies. Mandate to William Hardel, Custodian of the King's Change at London and in Canterbury that for the future he is to see that the custodians of the King's dies in London and Canterbury are paid for every hundred pounds worked in London and in Canterbury the twelve pence they were accustomed to receive in former times."²

From the above-cited warrants of 28 July 1250, addressed to the sheriffs controlling ten provincial mints, we learn the amounts which had been paid to the keepers of the dies for their services during the period of issue of the Long-Cross coinage, viz., Northampton £14, Oxford £14, Newcastle-on-Tyne £6 12s., York £10 10s., Wilton £4 13s. 9d., Winchester £12 7s. 11d., Norwich £12, Lincoln £18, Gloucester £11, and Exeter £8 15s. 3d.

The last-cited warrant shows that the *custodes cuneorum* at the London and Canterbury mints were paid twelve pence for every £100 struck there. If the *custodes cuneorum* at the provincial mints received a remuneration equal to those at the London and Canterbury mints, the amounts cited above as having been paid to the provincial *custodes*, would indicate that the amount of money coined at the provincial mints during the issue of the Long-Cross coinage would be as follows: At Northampton £28,000, or 6,720,000 pennies; at Oxford £28,000, or 6,720,000 pennies; at Newcastle-on-Tyne, £13,200, or 3,168,000 pennies; at York £21,000, or

¹ "*Provisio de stipendiis Cambitorum*. Provisum est per dominem Comitem, J. Maunsell, in presencia Thesaurarii et Baronum quod quilibet Cambitorum singulorum in villarum singularum extra Londoniam et Cantuariam habeat per annum pro stipendiis suis, ix. m. et clericus Cambii, vj. m." (*King's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll*, Trinity Term, 34 Henry III, 1250, memb. 12.)

² *Close Roll*, 8 Aug., 18 Henry III, 1234, memb. 12. See also p. 106, *post*.

5,040,000 pennies; at Wilton £9,375, or 2,250,000 pennies; at Winchester £24,791 13s. 4d., or 5,950,000 pennies; at Norwich £24,000, or 5,760,000 pennies; at Lincoln £36,000 or 8,640,000 pennies; at Gloucester £22,000, or 5,280,000 pennies, and at Exeter £17,525, or 4,205,000 pennies; a total of £223,891 13s. 4d., or 53,733,000 pennies. The wording of the above-cited warrants, however, indicates that the officers of the provincial mints were not paid at the same rate as were the corresponding officials in the chief mints at London and Canterbury.

This difference in the stipends of the officers at the principal exchanges and the amounts paid to corresponding officials of the provincial exchanges, is confirmed by entries on various twelfth- and thirteenth-century rolls, especially the Pipe Rolls, where we find it recorded on the rolls of 1180 and 1181, at the commencement of the Short-Cross coinage, that the exchangers in charge of the exchange at London and at Winchester¹ received 16d. a day as their stipend, and the other exchangers at those two exchanges received 8d. a day. At the provincial exchanges the principal exchanger, who was also in charge of the local mint—where a mint existed—was paid 8d. a day and the other exchangers received 4d. a day, as is shown by the following extracts from the Pipe Roll of 27 Henry II, 1180-1:

Sub "Northamptonshire". (Entered under "Higham" in error. Should be under "Northampton".)

"In wages to Hervey Briton and Martin de Paulo from the feast of St. Martin to the close of Easter, that is 153 days, one of them at 8d. a day and the other at 4d. a day, 7l. and 13s. by the King's writ. And in wages to Hervey Briton, King's exchanger, from the close of Easter to the feast of St. Michael, 5l. and 13s. and 4d. [that is] 8d. a day, by the same writ."

Sub "Norfolk and Suffolk".

"In wages to Geoffrey Joimer and Aymer son of Philip from the feast of St. Michael to Epiphany, that is 56 days

¹ The principal treasury was then situated at Winchester, where was also located one of the two chief exchanges. The Canterbury mint and exchange had not at that time assumed the important position which it held in the reign of Henry III, when the treasury had been removed from Winchester to London.

[one of them at 8*d.* a day and the other at 4*d.* a day], 56*s.* And in wages to Geoffrey Joimer from the beforesaid feast of Epiphany to the close of Easter, that is 96 days at 8*d.* a day, 64*s.*"

Sub "Worcester".

"In wages to Peter Melkin, King's exchanger, for 152 days, that is from the feast of St. Michael to the octave of Easter, and to Richard Blund, his fellow, for 43 days, that is from the feast of St. Michael to the vigil of the Nativity. And in wages to Martin de Paulo, King's exchanger, from the close of Easter to the feast of St. Michael, 56*s.* and 4*d.*, that is 4*d.* a day."

From the records it would appear that the exchangers at the provincial exchanges received exactly half the wages paid to officers holding a similar position at London and at Canterbury, and from which it appears quite fair to assume that other provincial mint and exchange officials also were paid at the same ratio. Thus we may assume that provincial *custodes cuneorum* received only one half the amount paid to similar officials at London and at Canterbury, *i.e.*, 6*d.* for every £100 struck; in which case the amount of coin struck at certain of the provincial mints between about June 1248, and February 1250, would be as follows: At Northampton £56,000, or 13,440,000 pennies; at Oxford £56,000, or 13,440,000 pennies; at Newcastle-on-Tyne £26,400, or 6,336,000 pennies; at York £42,000, or 10,080,000 pennies; at Wilton £18,750, or 4,500,000 pennies; at Winchester £49,583 6*s.* 8*d.*, or 11,900,000 pennies; at Norwich £48,000, or 11,520,000 pennies; at Lincoln £72,000, or 17,280,000 pennies; at Gloucester £44,000, or 10,560,000 pennies; and at Exeter £35,050, or 8,410,000 pennies; a total of £447,783 6*s.* 8*d.*, or 107,466,000 pennies.

The Shrewsbury mint account, previously referred to, is preserved in the borough archives at Shrewsbury. The account is entered on two rolls, the first being headed "Roll of assays made by the keepers of the dies [*i.e.*, at the instance of the keepers of the dies] at Shrewsbury, beginning Thursday, January 29, 1248-9".¹ Upon these is entered a record

¹ "Rotulus de Assayis factis per custodes cuneorum Salopp incipient: die Jovis proximo ante festum Purificationis beatæ Marie anno regni regis Henrici xxxiiij."

of each day upon which the moneyers were working; the number of assays made by the assayers and the amount of coin struck each day. The first day of minting appears to have been 2 February 1248-9, when six assays were made and coin to the value of £20 was struck; and the last day of minting was 9 February 1249-50, when three assays were made and coin to the value of £6 was struck. The total amount of coin produced during those twelve months was £7,167, or 1,720,080 pennies.

The moneyers appear to have worked irregularly, and their output also was very irregular. The dates upon which the moneyers, or some of them, were working, and the amount of coin struck was as follows: 1248-9, 2 Feb., £20; 10 Feb., £17; 18 Feb., £15; 20 Feb., £26; 11 Mar., £6; 16 Mar., £3; 22 and 23 Mar., £2; 31 Mar. and 1 Apr., £9; 14 and 15 Apr., £1; 28 Apr., £28; 12 May, £18; 18 May, £23; 8 June, £16; 23 June, £13; 23 June, £9¹; 26 June, £12; 2 July, £17; 15 July, £19, 26 July, £17, (on 31 July and 6, 10, and 11 Aug., assays were made but there is no return of coin struck); 20 Aug., £12; 26 Aug., £3; 30 Aug., £4; 7 Sept., £14; 16 and 17 Sept., £25; 23 Sept., £13; 30 Sept., £15; 4 Oct., £8; 30 Oct., £10; 17 or 24 Nov., £5; 3 Dec., £23; 15 Dec., £4; 22 Dec., £11. 1249-50, 14 Jan., £11; 27 Jan., £11; 28 Jan., £5; 3 Feb., £20; and 9 Feb., £6. Total amount coined, £7,167.

The late R. Ll. Kenyon, describing this roll, says: "It is an account of the assays made by the keepers of the Dies between 29 January, 1248-9, and 9 February, 1249-50; and it gives the names of the two . . . Goldsmiths elected to be Assayers. . . . They were Alan le Prude and William le Bor, but between the 4th and 30th of October 1249, Alan le Prude had been replaced by Thomas Gherard."²

Mr. Kenyon assumes that the names given on these rolls are the names of the *Custodes Cuneorum* and that they were also the assayers. Mr. Kenyon, however, appears to have been mistaken in this, for the entries on the rolls repeatedly refer to assays "from the forges of William Bor and Alan Prude" or "from the forges of William Bor and Thomas Gherard", from which it is evident that these three men were *fusores* and not assayers nor keepers of the dies. More-

¹ Two separate entries under this date.

² "The Shrewsbury Mint Under Henry III", *Num. Chron.*, 1899, pp. 112-24.

over, we know from the Hargrave MS. previously cited,¹ that the Shrewsbury *custodes cuneorum* were Robertus filius Johannis, Lucas filius Walteri, Johannes filius Rogeri le Parmentarius and Hugo le Vilain; and the *Assaiatores*, Thomas Aurifaber and Willelmus filius Hugonis. Presumably Mr. Kenyon was unacquainted with the contents of the Hargrave MS. or he would not have fallen into the error of assuming that Alan le Prude, William le Bor and Thomas Gherard were keepers of the dies and that they were also the assayers of the mint. *Fusores* are rarely mentioned by name, but in the Pipe Roll, 26 Henry II, 1179-80, *sub* "York", we find the following entry of wages paid to a melter:

"Et Normannus Fusori a festo Crucis usque ad octabus Sancti Michaelis, scilicet de .xxviij. diebus. ix. s. et. iiij. d."

In the same roll, *sub* "Higham" (which should be under "Northampton") we find:

"Et in liberatione Gilleberti Fusoris a Nativitate Beate Marie usque ad octabas Sancti Michaelis .x. s."

And in the roll for 27 Henry II, 1180-81, also *sub* "Higham":

"Et Gilleberto fusori .ij. s. et .viij. d. de remanenti liberationis."

In the *Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll* for 33 Henry III, 1248-9, it is recorded that in Michaelmas Term of that year:²

"Richard Pride and Hugo Champenes, elected by the men of Shrewsbury to the office of moneyer, having taken the oath were admitted to that office; and Robert son of John, Lucas son of Walter, Hugo le Vilein, and John son of Roger the Tailor (*Paumere*), elected by the men of Shrewsbury to the office of Custodian of the dies, having taken the oath were admitted to that office."

During the interval which elapsed between the admission of Hugo Champenes to the office of moneyer and the commencement of coining, *i.e.*, 2 February 1249, he was replaced by Laurence Cox, as is shown in the Hargrave MS. previously cited, where we find "Laurentius Cox, loco Hugonis Champeneis" recorded in the list of Shrewsbury moneyers.

¹ See p. 90, *ante*.

² 9 October to 28 November 1248.

CONCERNING THE CUSTODY OF WORN DIES OF THE
NORTHERN MINTS

Considerable interest attaches to the following warrant addressed to the sheriffs of Yorkshire, Cumberland and Northumberland, providing for the safe custody of worn dies from the three northern mints from which Henry III "Long-Cross" coins were issued. This warrant is entered on the *Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Roll* for Michaelmas Term, 33 Henry III, 1248-9,¹ membrane 2, and is as follows:

"*York.* Mandate to the sheriff [of Yorkshire] that the King's dies which Robert Verdonel, Thomas Yol, William de Acun and Robert le Blund, keepers of the King's dies in York, shall deliver to him under the King's seal, he shall receive and cause to be placed in Knaresborough Castle under his seal and those of the Constable of the said Castle and all of the said keepers or of any two of them. And whenever the said keepers bring him four dies that have become worn down he shall receive them and securely keep under his seal and those of the said Constable and keepers; and for the said four worn dies so delivered to him he shall cause to be delivered to the keepers four new dies; and when the larger number of the said dies which the King sends to him shall have become worn down, he shall send that number to the Exchequer at Westminster by one of the said keepers under his seal and those of the moneyers in York, so that the barons may send to the sheriff as many new dies, in the same manner and custody.

"In the same manner mandate was sent to the sheriff of Northumberland concerning the dies of Newcastle-on-Tyne which Thomas de Merchivel (?) and other keepers of the King's dies shall bring him from Newcastle.

"In the same manner mandate was sent to the sheriff of Cumberland concerning the King's dies at Carlisle which Thomas Sparuarius (?), William Fitz-Ivonis and others shall bring him thence.

"In the same manner mandate was sent to the sheriff of Yorkshire concerning the [dies in the] Liberty of the Archbishop of York."

From the contents of the foregoing warrant it appears that the sheriffs of the three northern counties, Yorkshire, North-

¹ 9 October to 28 November 1248. See also p. 107, *post*.

umberland and Cumberland, probably on account of their long distance from London, and the special dangers of transport, were provided with new dies which they kept in hand ready for immediate exchange for worn or broken dies from the mints in their respective counties, viz. York, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Carlisle; and that the said sheriffs retained in their charge the old dies until such time as it was convenient to send them, in charge of a *custos cunei*, to the Exchequer at London.

A DIE FOR THE BISHOP OF DURHAM ORDERED IN 1250

Richard Poor, Bishop of Durham, died in 1237; then followed a long contest between the king and the monks concerning a successor. On 2 January 1241 the monks elected Nicholas de Farnham to whose election the king was immediately reconciled. Between 1237 and 1253 no coins are known to have been issued from the episcopal mint at Durham. Nicholas de Farnham resigned his see in January 1249 and was succeeded by Walter of Kirkam. I recently discovered in the *Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll* for Michaelmas Term 34-5 Henry III, 1250, membrane 1^d, the following warrant:—

“*For N. Bishop of Durham.* The King to the barons [of the Exchequer]. We command you to have a die cut for N. Bishop of Durham in the manner usual for such dies to be cut. The writ is in the Marshal's wallet (*forulo*).”¹

The “N” in the foregoing warrant is difficult of explanation for it obviously indicates Nicholas, who had resigned the see eight months previously. Presumably it was a clerical error, the “N” being written for “W” and the die intended for Bishop Walter.

These dies, ordered at Michaelmas 1250, were, without doubt, for striking coins of Lawrence Class IV, of which type we have coins struck at London, Canterbury, and St. Edmundsbury. Of Durham mint we should expect to find coins of Class IV, but although the foregoing warrant shows that dies for the Bishop of Durham were ordered at Michaelmas 1250, no coins from those dies have yet been discovered; a fact which, however, is not very surprising when we con-

¹ See also p. 107, *post*.

sider that the recorded coins of Class IV of the St. Edmundsbury mint number less than half a dozen specimens.

As I have previously shown on pp. 89-93, the provincial mints ceased operations and Class III terminated in the early part of 1250, and it is probable that Class IV commenced about Michaelmas in the same year, for sufficient time had elapsed by 2 February 1251 for clippers and counterfeiters to have been busy with the new coinage as is shown by a warrant of that date, by which, *inter alia*, Gilbert de Preston and Ralph de Gayton are appointed "to make inquisitions of those who have changed [money] contrary to the custom of the King's change in the counties of . . . Northampton, &c. and of clippers and counterfeiters of the *new money*, &c."¹

THE LOCALITY OF THE GLOUCESTER MINT

The locality in which the Gloucester mint stood is indicated by the following record of:

"Commission to the king's clerk John Walrand to enquire by jury whether a purpresture between the church of St. Mary de Graslane and the stalls where of ancient time money used to be coined in the town of Gloucester," &c. (Patent Roll, 23 March 1258.)

In conclusion, I beg to express my best thanks to my friend, Mr. L. Griffith, for having drawn my attention to several documents transcribed in the foregoing pages and for other services rendered; and to the Council of the Royal Numismatic Society for the loan of the blocks used on p. 91.

APPENDIX

I

"Frater Edmundus de Walepole et Frater Thomas, monachi de Sancto Edmundo venerunt coram baronibus et protestatus fuit quod abbas S^ci Edmundi habuit et debuerit habere de jure cuneum et cambium apud Sanctum Edmundum adeo liberum sicut cambium Londonie cum omnibus ad cuneum et cambium pertinentibus; et dominus Rex nichil se debet inde intromittere nisi tam quam cuneum recepit apud London per manum Thesaurarii; et inde protulerunt cartam Sancti Eadwardi Regis Anglorum verbis in hac forma:—

Eadward King gret wel Aylmer Bisscop and Gurth Erl. Ich queth yeu that ich habbe guien Baldwin Abbot onne monetere withinne Seint

¹ *Patent Roll*, 2 Feb. 1251; *Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll*, Michaelmas, 35 Henry III, 1251.

Eadmundesbury alsho urelicke to habben on aller thin ye alsho inc mine on honde stondeth other on onye mine Burghe alsurelickerst.

Et Rex Henricus primus concedit quod Ecclesia Sancti Eadmundi habeat unum monetarium in villa Sancti Eadmundi, ita libere sicut quam liberius habuit.

Et Rex Willelmus Ruffus precepit ministris suis Norfolc' et Suffolc' quod Baldewin Abbas Sancti Eadmundi habeat omnes consuetudines suas infra Burgum et extra, et de monetariis et cambiatoribus habeat sicut ipse illa unquam melius habuit tempore Regis Eadwardi et tempore patris sui.

Et Rex Ricardus concedit quod prefata Ecclesia habeat unum monetarium in villa Sancti Eadmundi ita libere sicut unquam liberius habuit.

Et Rex Johannes concedit quod Abbas et Conventus Sancti Eadmundi habeant unum cuneum ad monetam faciendam infra villa Sancti Eadmundi et quod idem monetam fieret vult et firmiter precepit quod habeant cuneum illum in predicto loco imperpetuum cum omnibus ad huiusmodi cuneum pertinentibus.

Et Rex Henricus tertius concedit quod prefata ecclesia habeat unum monetarium in villa Sancti Edmundi ita libere &c. Datum illius confirmationis est xxx die Januarii anno xi^o [1227]." (*King's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll*, Michaelmas Term, 32-3 Henry III, 1247.)

II

"*De quodam cuneo liberando monachis Sancti (sic).*—Mandatum est W. de Haverhull', thesaurario suo, Edwardo de Westmonasterio et Willelmo Hardell', quod liberent monachis Sancti Edmundi quendam cuneum nove incisionis ad fabricandum interim argentum suum, sicut de jure consueverunt et facere debent, salvis regni in omnibus libertatibus et dignitatibus corone regis que ad cuneum pertinere dinoscuntur. Teste rege apud Merleberge vj die Decembris [1247]." (*Close Roll*.)

III

"Mandatum est Edwardo de Westmonasterio quod monachis de Sancto Edmundo que venturi sunt ad eum cum litteris regis pro quodam cuneo habere faciat .xij. obolos de Muz, de dono regis, quia rex vult quod jungantur feretro beati Edmundi martiris, quia rex ibi non fuit hoc anno. Teste ut supra." (*Ibid.*)

IV

"*De Cuneo liberando.*—Mandatum est W. de Haverhull', thesaurario suo, W. Hardell' et Edwardo de Westmonasterio, quod Edmundo, subsacriste Sancti Edmundi, et Simoni elemosinario Sancti Edmundi, nunciis abbatis et conventus Sancti Edmundi, habere faciant quendam cuneum nove incisionis, accepto prius ab eis veteri cuneo utentes novam inde monetam fieri faciant, sicut veteri cuneo veterem monetam ante numismatis nostri mutacionem fieri fecerunt. Licet Scaccarium regis modo non sedeat nichilominus hoc mandatum nostrum sine dilacione curetis adimplere. Teste Rege apud Wintoniam .xxvj. die Decembris [1247]." (*Close Roll*.)

V

"*De Cuneo.*—Rex abbati et conventui de Sancto Edmundo, salutem.

Cum sine difficultate cuneum nove incisionis vobis duxerimus concedendum, vobis mandamus et expresse injungimus quatinus, sicut libertate ipsius cunei et aliis libertatibus vestris gaudere desideratis, utamini predicto cuneo secundum quod illo utitur in civitate nostra Lond' et in aliis villis regni nostri. Teste ut supra." (*Close Roll*.)

VI

"Rex maiori, ballivis et probis hominibus suis Norwici', salutem. Mandamus vobis firmiter injungentes quod sine dilacione in presencia plene curie vestra eligi faciatis per sacramentum xxiii^{or} proborum et legalium virorum, iiii^{or} de fidelioribus et prudencioribus ville vestre, qui melius et fidelius sciant et possint intendere officio monetarie nostre in eadem villa vestra, et alios iiii^{or} consimilis fidelitatis et prudencie ad custodiam cuneorum nostrorum, et duos idoneos et prudentes aurifabros integerrime fidelitatis qui sciant et possint esse assaiatores monete nostre ibidem fabricande. Et videatis quod omnes predicti, tam monetarii quam custodes et assaiatores, tales sint quod pro eis possitis et velitis, tam de officio monete nostre ibidem bene tractande quam de pecunia que eis liberabitur et etiam de proficuis ejusdem, nobis et dilecto fratri nostro R. Comiti Cornubie respondere, et ipsos cum litteris vestris patentibus nominatim mittatis ad Scaccarium nostrum Lond' coram thesaurario et baronibus nostris de Scaccario, ad faciendum ibidem que secundum consuetudinem et assaisam antiquam et approbatam ibidem facere debent; ita quod sint ad Scaccarium nostrum coram eisdem baronibus nostris die Dominica proxima post festum Sancti Gregorii proximo futurum. Et sciatis quod dictus frater noster vobis habere faciet m. libras sterlingorum ad cambium sustentandum et monetam fabricandam; ita quod faciatis ei litteras vestras patentes in forma presentibus interclusa, quas quidem litteras vestras in recepcione predictarum mille librarum predicto comiti mittatis. Teste rege apud Westmonasterium xxvj. die Februarii [1248].

Eodem modo scribitur maioris, ballivis et probis hominibus Exonie, Wintonie, Linc', Northampton." (*Close Roll*, 32 Henry III, 1248, membrane 13^d.)

VII

"Mandatum est ballivis et hominibus Walingeford quod, sine dilatione, in presencia plene curie sue, elegi faciant per sacramentum xxiii^{or} proborum et legalium virorum quatuor de fidelioribus et prudencioribus ville sue qui melius et fidelius sciant et possint intendere officio monetarie Regis in eadem villa sua et alios quatuor consimilis fidelitatis et prudencie ad custodiam cuneorum Regis et duos idoneos et prudentes aurifabros integerrime fidelitatis qui sciant et possint esse assaiatores monete ibidem fabricande et unum idoneum clericum et fidelem qui custodiam cambii possit intendere. Et videant quod omnes predicti, tam monetarii quam custodes assaiatores et clericus tales sint, quod possint et velint, tam de officio monete Regis ibidem bene tractando, quam de pecunia que eis liberabitur et etiam de proficuo eiusdem Regi et fratri suo R. comiti Cornubie respondere; et ipsos, cum litteris Regis patentibus, nominatim mittant ad Scaccarium Londonie coram thesaurario et baronibus de Scaccario ad faciendum ibidem que secundum consuetudinem et antiquam assaisam et approbatam ibidem facere debent. Ita quod sint ad Scaccarium

coram eisdem Baronibus in octabis omnium Sanctorum. Et sciant quod dictus frater Regis habere faciat Regi mille libras sterlingorum ad cambium sustentandum et monetam fabricandam. Et mittant per eosdem sigillum commune ville sue per quod possint facere securitatem tam Regi quam fratri suo predicto tam de pecunia quam eis liberabitur ad sustentandum cambium et ad novam monetam fabricandam in villa sua quam de proficuo inde proveniente. Et habeant ibi tunc hoc breve. Teste Eduardo de Westmonasterio apud Westmonasterium x die Octobris anno regno nostro xxxij^o.

Eodem modo mandati sunt Ballivis et probis hominibus Bristolle, Yvelcestrie, Herefordie, Novi Castri super Tinam, Notingham, Carleolle et Salopshurie et Wyltone." (*Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll*, 10 Oct., 32 Henry III, 1248.)

VIII

"*De cuneis W. Eboracensis archiepiscopi.* Quia rex accepit per inquisitionem quam inde fieri precepit quod W. Eboracensis archiepiscopus et predecessores sui consueverunt et debent habere duos cuneos adminus in civitate Eboraci, nobis regi ibidem quatuor cuneos habentibus, et, si rex multiplicaverit cuneos suos, predictus archiepiscopus plures habere debet de consuetudine predicta; ita scilicet quod semper tercium habebit cuneum secundum quod rex ultra quatuor cuneos suos multiplicare voluerit; mandatum est W. Hardel, custodi cambii sui, quod eidem archiepiscopo duos cuneos in predicta civitate habere faciat, secundum quod predictum est. Teste ut supra (i.e. Westmonasterium xx die Julii [1248].)" (*Close Roll*.)

IX

"*De omnibus apud Bristollum liberandis.* Quia cuneus regis amovetur a villa Bristolli, nec amplius ibidem moneta fabricatur, mandatum est maiori et ballivis Bristolli, quod domos in quibus monetarii regis manserunt ad monetam fabricandam, illis quorum domus ille sunt sine dilacione faciant deliberari, ne iteratus inde clamor audiat. Teste rege apud Merleberge xxij. die Junii [1248].)" (*Close Roll*.)

X

"*De assaisis restituendis domino Regi et Comiti.* Quelibet villa ubi faciat Cambium per totam Angliam debet restituere assaisam suam Regi et Comiti quod Custodes Cambiorum receperunt." (*Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll*, Hilary Term, 34 Henry III, 1250.)

XI

"... Et ne futuris temporibus posset fraus fieri de legali moneta regni, de consilio praedictorum omnium pro utilitate reipublicae facta sunt duo assaisa, pondus utriusque x. solidorum, quorum unum est de puro argento, et aliud de argento ad cuius exemplar debet fieri moneta, quae duo assaisa quodam quonio impressa, posita sunt in thesauro domini regis apud Westmonasterium sub sigillo majoris Londoniae.

Consimiliter facta sunt plura assaisa in forma praedicta, dicto cunio signata per diversa loca ubi erigitur cambium liberata; scilicet apud

Londonium duo pondera xl. denariorum, unum videlicet purum ad argentum cognoscendum, et aliud ad monetam; apud Cantuariam duo ejusdem formae; apud Sanctum Ædmundum, Norwicum, Oxoniam, Northamptoniam, Lincolniam, Wintoniam, Gloucestriam, Exoniam, et Eboracum, Irencester, et eodem modo." (Brit. Mus. Hargrave MS. 313.)

XII

"*Oxon. Berk. & alii Com. de Cambiis Angl.* Mandatum est vicecomiti quod statim visis literis istis accedit in propria persona sua ad Cambium regis Oxenfordiam et cuneos regis eiusdam cambii mittat sine dilacione Baronibus de Scaccario sub sigillo suo et sigillo maioris Oxenford' per unum de custodibus eorundem. Et venire faciet coram baronibus a die Pasche in xv dies custodem cambitorem & monetarium eiusdem cambii ad respondendum Regi de exitibus predicti Cambii de tempore ejus fuerunt ministri Regis in eodem Cambii. Et habeat ibi hoc brevem. Eodem modo mandatum est vicecomitibus Berkescire de Cambio Walingfordie.

Eodem modo mandatum est vicecomiti Norhamptone, Et vicecomitibus Gloucestrie, Wiltescire, Herefordie, Et vicecomiti Salopescire a die Pasche in tres septimanas; Et vicecomiti Suhampton', Et vicecomiti Lincolnescire, Et vicecomiti Norfolc', Et vicecomiti Sumersete a die Pasche in unum mensem. Et vicecomiti Devon', Cumberland', Ebor', Norhumberland' tam de cuneis Achiepiscopi quam de cuneis propriis." (*King's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll*, Hilary Term, 34 Henry III, 1250, membrane 7.)

XIII

"Henr̄ dei gratia &c. Vicecomiti Norhamptone, salutem. Quia provisum est per dilectum et fidelem nostrum R. Comitem Cornubie fratrem nostrum et Johannem Maunsell', propositum Beverlaci et Barones de Scaccario quod singuli Cambitores de singulis villis in quibus fecimus fabricari monetam nostram, preterquam in civitatibus Londonie et Cantuarie, habeant per annum .ix. marcas tantum et singuli clerici .vj. marcas tantum, pro stipendiis suis; et quod monetarii adquietent stipendia custodum cuneorum nostrorum de porcione sua, tibi precipemus quod distringas Cambitorem nostrum Norhamptone per terras et catalla sua ad reddendum nobis .vij. libras et .xviij. *ḡ*. quas recepit de monetariis nostris Norhamptone plusquam debuit pro stipendio suo; et clericum ad reddendum nobis .iiij. libras .xiiij. solidos et .vj. denarios quos recepit de eisdem monetariis nostris plusquam debuit pro stipendium suum; et monetarios nostros ad reddendum nobis .xiiij. libras quas custodes cuneorum nostrorum ceperunt de denariis nostris et quas predicti monetarii debuerunt solvere eisdem custodibus de porcione sua: ita quod tu habeas omnes denarios predictos ad cambium nostrum Londonie in crastino sancti Michaelis liberandos ibidem custodi eiusdem cambii; et hoc brevem &c. Teste J. Francis apud Westmonasterium xxviij. die Julii anno regni nostri xxxiiij." (*King's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll*.)

XIV

"*Custodibus cuneorum.* Mandatum est Willelmo Hardel custodio cambii regis Lond' et Cantuarie, quod decetero faciat habere custodibus cuneorum regis London' et Cantuarie de quibuslibet centum libris tam apud London' quam apud Cantuariam fabricandis, duodecim denarios sicut retroactis

temporibus illos percipere consueverunt." (*Close Roll*, 8 Aug., 18 Henry III, 1234, membrane 12.)

XV

"*Ebor.* Mandatum est vicecomiti quod cuneos Regis quos Robertus Verdonel, Thomas Yol, Willelmus de Acun et Robertus le Blund custodes cuneorum Regis Eboraci sibi differant sub sigillo Regis et ab eis recipiat et eos reponi faciant in Castro de Knareburg sub sigillo tuo & sub sigillo constabularii predicti castri et omnium predictorum custodorum vel duorum de ipsis. Et cum destulerunt ei iiij cuneos usitatos illos ab eis recipiat et salvos custodies sub sigillo suo et sigillis predicti Constabularii et predictorum custodorum et pro predicti iiij. cuneis eis liberari faciat iiij novos cuneos et cum maior pars predictorum cuneorum quos ei mittit ad Scaccariam apud Westmonasterium per unum de predictis custodibus et sub sigillo suo et predicti constabularii et monetariorum Regis Eboraco ut pro predictis cuneis usitatis mittant [barones] Vicecomiti tot cuneos novos eodem modo et custodia. Eodem modo mandatum est vicecomite Norumberland' de cuneis Novi Castri super Tinam quos Thomas de Merchivel (?) Tinand et alii de Novo Castro ei detulerunt.

Eodem modo mandatum est vicecomite Cumberland' de cuneis Carleol quos Thomas Sparvarius (?), Willelmus filius Ivonis et alii ei portabant. Eodem modo mandatum est vicecomiti Eboraci de Libertate Archiepiscopi Eboracensis." (*Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll*, Michaelmas Term, 33 Henry III, 1249, membrane 2.)

XVI

"*Pro N. Dunelmensi Episcopo.* Rex Baronibus. Mandamus vobis quod cuneum N. Dunelmensis Episcopi incidi faciatis sicut alias consuevit incidi. Brevis est in forulo Marescalcie." (*Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll*, Michaelmas Term, 34-5 Henry III, 1250, membrane 1^d.)

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
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SESSIONS 1934 AND 1935

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- 1922 GRANT R. FRANCIS—*from 28 June*
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- 1928 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.—*from 22 February*
- 1929 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1930 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
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THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS GOLD MEDAL

THIS Medal is awarded by ballot of all the Members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members as being in their opinion the best in the interests of numismatic science".

The Medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by a gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society, the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911 and thenceforward triennially.

Medallists

- 1910 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.
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- 1914 W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
- 1917 L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.
- 1920 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1923 H. ALEXANDER PARSONS
- 1926 GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.
- 1929 J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX, R.B.A.
- 1932 CHARLES WINTER

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 24 JANUARY 1934

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

THE President regretted that again it was his painful duty to announce that since the last Meeting the Society had lost by death several of its prominent Members, viz.

Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.

Mr. Alan Garnett.

Mr. T. K. Mackenzie.

Mr. A. J. V. Radford.

The Chairman referred especially to the death of Mr. W. J. Andrew, one of the three to whom the Society owed its very existence. He was made Secretary at the inauguration of the Society in 1903, and continued in that capacity for upwards of twenty years, beside being Editor of the Society's Journal for as many years. He had contributed many valuable papers to the Journal and there is no doubt that the Society had lost one of its most stalwart supporters, and many of the Members—like himself—had lost a very dear and old friend.

Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Garnett would also be remembered by the more recent Members for their good fellowship as Members and by their interesting papers and exhibits of War Medals and Decorations and badges generally.

The evening was devoted to a special exhibition.

Presentation to the Library

By MR. GEO. S. GODARD, State Librarian of the State Library of Connecticut, Hartford, U.S.A.: His Report for the two years ended 30 June 1930.

Exhibitions

By DR. E. C. CARTER:

Philip and Mary shilling of 1555, with letters E, T, R, N, X, —all of small size—in legend. They may be from stamps for groat or half-groat.

Philip and Mary shilling, with 1554 in exergue. Forgery from false dies.

Elizabeth. Three varieties of the pattern shilling with mint-mark key.

By MR. JAMES KENNY:

Edward I or II. Six coins of a new square-chin type of Class X.

Edward II. A series of pennies of Type XI (Shirley-Fox), of Canterbury, London, Bury, and Durham. Most with the prevailing fault on right of crown.

Edward III ~~CANTOR~~ penny, from the collection of the late Lieut.-Col. H. W. Morrieson.

Also a volume of Speed's *History*, 1600 (?), showing curious engravings of coins.

By MR. H. H. KING: Seventeen coins of the Steyning mint, from Edward the Confessor to William II:

Edward the Confessor:

Type B.M.C. V +EDPE·RD REX; +PVLFEET ON STEN
+EDPNR·RD RE; +PVLFEET ON S TENI ∴
+EAD·RD REX; +PVLFRIC ON STENN:

Type B.M.C. VII +EDPA D REX; +PVFERIC ON S TE ∴
+EDREID REX; +PVLFRIC ON STE
+EDPR·DE R.; +PVLFRIC ON ·STENI

Type B.M.C. IX EADPARD REX ANGLO; +PVLFRIC OMN STE

Type B.M.C. XI +EADPAR·RD RE Λ; +DIORMAN ON S TENIC

Type B.M.C. XIII EADRARARD REX Λ; +DIORMAN ON STE

Type B.M.C. XV EADPARD RE; +EODPINE ON STE

Harold II:

Type B.M.C. I +HAROLD REX ANGLO; +DERMON OM STENI

William I:

Type B.M.C. VI +PILLELM REX I; +DRMAN ON STENION

Type B.M.C. VIII +PILLELM REX; +ÐVRBERN ON STE
+PILLELL[MR]EX; +ÐVRBEN ON STENI
+PILLELM REX; +ÐVRBRN ON STNI

William II:

Type B.M.C. II +PILLEMREX; +ÐVRBRN ON [S]TE
Type B.M.C. V +PILLELM R; +ÐVRBRN ON S[T]N

By MR. K. R. R. READHEAD:

William III shilling, 1698. Proof with plain edge; reverse from broken die.

" " " 1698. Reverse plumes.

" " " 1698. Flaming hair. Unusually fine.

" " " 1699. Proof. Plain edge.

" " " 1700. Plume under bust. Very fine and very rare.

" " " 1701. Plumes on reverse.

Victoria Proof shillings 1838, 1839 with W. W., 1839 without W. W., 1842, 1853, 1867.

By MR. W. WAITE SANDERSON: Eighteenth-century Berks. 40s. piece in gold and silver. Also an eighteenth-century farthing not illustrated in Dalton and Hamer.

By MR. H. W. TAFES: The following early pennies:

Eadgar with reverse DIORLAFH LE

Harold II, Lewes mint OZPOLD ON LEPEEI

William I:

Cambridge mint; reverse ODBEARN ON GRANT

Canterbury mint; Paxs type; reverse SIMIER ON ENTLE

Canterbury mint; Paxs type, no ornament on shoulder; reverse BRIHTNOR ON CAN

Canterbury mint; two star type; reverse MMANA ON CAN

Canterbury mint; two star type; reverse PVLFRIC ON CANT

Chichester mint; Paxs type; reverse BRVMN ON CICES

Colchester mint; reverse PVLFPINE ON COLI

Dover mint; Paxs type; reverse LEFPINE ON DOFR

Dover mint; Paxs type; reverse LIFFINE ON DOF

Dover mint; Paxs type; reverse LIFFINE ON DOFR

Dover mint; Paxs type; reverse GODPINE O[N D] OFI

Dover mint; Hkns 242; reverse LIFFINE ON DOFRN

Hythe mint; Paxs type; reverse EDRED ON HIDE

Ipswich mint; Paxs type; reverse LEPINE ON GIPSPI

Lincoln mint; Paxs type; reverse IILF (Ulf) ON • LINCOLN
 London mint; two star type; reverse GODPINE ON LVNI
 London mint; Paxs type; reverse IEPI ON LVNDEI
 London mint; Paxs type; reverse BRIHTPINE ON LIII
 London mint; Paxs type; reverse AEPI ON LVNDEI
 Norwich mint; Paxs type; reverse GODPINE ONORÐP
 Oxford mint; Paxs type; reverse PVLFPi ON OXNEF
 Oxford mint; Paxs type; reverse BRIHTRED ON OXN
 Romney mint; reverse PIILFMIER ON RV
 Salisbury mint; Paxs type; reverse OSBERN ON SIER
 Sandwich mint; Paxs type; reverse IELFEN (?) ON SANDPI
 Sandwich mint; Paxs type; reverse GODPINE ON SAN
 Shrewsbury mint; Paxs type; reverse GODESBRAND ON
 SRI
 Southwark mint; Paxs type; reverse LIFPORD ON SVÐE
 Southwark mint; Paxs type; reverse OSMVND ON SIID
 Steyning mint; Paxs type; reverse DVRBERN ON STE
 Thetford mint; reverse GOD ON ÐEOTFORD
 Wallingford mint; Paxs type; reverse IEGLPINE ON WAL
 Wareham mint; Paxs type; reverse GODPINE ON PERE
 Winchester mint; Paxs type; reverse LIEFPOLD ON PINE
 Winchester mint; Paxs type; reverse GODPINE ON PINE
 Winchester mint; Paxs type; reverse GODPINE ON PIN
 Winchester mint; Paxs type; reverse LIFPOLD ON PINE
 Winchester mint; reverse ANDRBOD ON PINE
 York mint; reverse ÐREORM ON EO
 York mint; C.-B. type II; reverse ÐORR ON EOFE
 Exeter mint; Paxs type; reverse SEPINE ON IEXEC
 Canterbury mint; Paxs type; reverse PVLFRIC ON ENTE
 Rochester mint; Paxs type; reverse LIFSTAN ON ROFI
 Romney mint; Paxs type; reverse PIILMIER ON RIM

William II:

Hythe mint; type V (C.-B); reverse EDRIED O HIÐE
 London mint; reverse ALFPINE ON LVN
 Oxford mint; type III (C.-B); reverse BRHT ON OXNE

Also Edward I pattern groat.

Henry VIII. Forty-four varieties of the groat of the second issue, and two varieties of the 'Redde cuique' groat.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 28 FEBRUARY 1934

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

THE Chairman announced with deep regret the tragic and lamented death of one of its Royal Members, His Majesty, Albert, King of the Belgians.

The University of London Library was elected a Member of the Society.

Presentations to the Library

By THE AZANIA PRESS: *The Pleasures of Coin Collecting*, by John Shirley-Fox, R.B.A., one of the Members of the Society.

By MESSRS. SPINK AND SON: The bound volume of the *Numismatic Circular* for 1933.

Exhibitions

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL:

Mauritius 25 and 50 sous of 1821-2.

Java Doits of 1813 and 1814.

Kentucky—British Settlement—pattern cent 1796, in silver.

Massachusetts or New England shillings of 1652—three varieties with Willow-tree, Oak-tree, and Pine-tree respectively.

Canada—Bank of Montreal—halfpenny, 1839, with corner view of the bank.

Franco-Colonial half-dollar, 1796, for Castorland.

Barbadoes penny.

By DR. A. N. BRUSHFIELD:

Four perforated tokens of Bengal, including two Famine tokens.

Three varieties of the two-kapang piece of Sumatra.

A set of Mafeking notes with a letter from Lord Baden-Powell.

A Bengal Medal with reverse similar to the reverse on the mohur of William IV.

By MR. A. H. F. BALDWIN:

Elizabeth—for the Indies—8, 4, 2, and 1 real of 1600.

Dominica dollar with round piece stamped out, and one countermarked with 16 and crown.

Dominica plug-form dollar reholed and countermarked 4 and crown for 4 bits.

Guadaloupe dollar with square piece stamped out and countermarked with G and crown.

Guadaloupe, G stamped on square centre of dollar.

Martinique dollar with heart-shaped piece stamped out.

Montserrat quarter of dollar countermarked 2. 6 in indent.

Grenada $\frac{1}{16}$ cut dollar countermarked G.

Rosa-Americana twopence of 1722 with uncrowned rose, and the set of twopence, penny, and halfpenny of 1723 with crowned rose.

East India Company coins consisting of the Arcot mohur, the pattern mohur of Murshedabad, and proofs of the two mohurs and the one mohur, 1835, of William IV, also the proof one mohur of 1841 of Victoria.

India (General) coins consisting of the following proofs of Victoria; half-anna in gold 1892, the half-pice in gold 1892, the $\frac{1}{12}$ anna in gold 1892, the mohur of 1870, and the 10 and 5 rupees of 1870.

Canada: Edward VII proof sovereign 1908 c, and proofs of sovereign 1911 c, 10 dollars 1912, and 5 dollars 1912.

Newfoundland 2 dollars 1888 of Victoria.

South Africa proof pond of 1892.

Australia: Adelaide sovereign 1852 and another of the rare die of same, Sydney sovereigns of 1855 and 1864, Sydney half sovereign of 1858, Melbourne sovereign of 1887 M and 1919 M, and the Sydney sovereign of 1925 S.

By MR. H. J. DAKERS and CAPT. C. H. DAKERS:

Java stiver 1814.

Two tin tokens (Chinese) struck in Malaya as cents, and copied from the East India Company's two-kapang piece of Sumatra 1804.

Straits Settlements half- and quarter-cent of 1916, a circular half-cent of 1916 cut down to resemble the square cent of 1920, square cent of 1932 (issued for the slump), and a debased 5 cents of 1918.

By LIEUT.-COLONEL C. L. EVANS:

Elizabeth—for the Indies—Dollar, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, and $\frac{1}{8}$. of 1600.
Summers Islands Hog-money shilling and sixpence.

By MR. J. KENNY:

A Canterbury penny of Archbishop Plegmund of ELFSTAN moneyer.

Henry III long-cross Canterbury pennies, mostly from the Brussels hoard, including: **NICOLA**—four types (Rex Ang Terce, sceptre, star, and **HAN**); **WILLELM** (**HAN**); **GILBERT**; **ION**; **ROBERT**; **WALTER**; **ALAIN**; and **AMBROCI**.

By MR. H. A. PARSONS:

Canada Bank of Montreal penny token of 1839 and half-penny tokens of 1838 and 1839, all with the corner view of the bank.

Also a proof halfpenny token of the Bank of Montreal, with usual front view, but of the date 1845. This date was unknown to Atkins, and Breton states that the only known specimen is in the collection of Thos. Wilson of Clarence, Ontario.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS: Various Colonial coins and patterns including:

Cyprus pattern 1 piastre 1881 with thick figure 1.

Hong Kong pattern cent 1862.

Hong Kong large pattern cent 1863 and another variety of same date.

Barbadoes proof penny and halfpenny of 1792.

Africa 1 Trade Accey 1818.

Kruger pond 1892 with double-shafts.

South Australia Ingot piece.

New South Wales fifteen pence 1813.

Tobago bit.

Spanish dollar countermarked G R for Jamaica.

Spanish dollar countermarked G R and 5 for Canada.

Barbadoes penny 1788 countermarked with G R and crown, in an octagon.

The Saints Islands half-dollar.

Tortola half-dollar.

Guadaloupe 20 sous with G.

Martinique silver—two varieties with heart-shaped punch.

India pattern rupee 1901 and a pattern for IV Pii 1824.

Fort Marlbro two-sookoo piece 1783.

Bombay lead pice.

Unfinished proof of rupee in copper with date 186—.

Natal sixpence Durban Club, 1860.

Barbadoes farthing token of Moses Tolanto.

Ceylon Co. Ltd., St. Sebastian Mills C.—unpublished variety of elephant.

Two-sous piece of Cayenne countermarked S.M. (St. Martin).

Sarawak. Two varieties of the I.B. Sept. 1841 piece.

By MR. J. ROCHELLE THOMAS: A very fine specimen of the Baltimore Shilling (or Maryland) with bust of Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore.

Paper

WHAT SERIES OF COINS SHOULD ONE COLLECT? I. COINS OF THE BRITISH COLONIES

By J. B. CALDECOTT

Mr. Caldecott provided a most interesting and informative evening devoted to what it is hoped may be the first of a series in which Members may propound their reasons for studying their special branch of Numismatics. Mr. Caldecott treated the subject from the historical standpoint as well as from the interest which the coins themselves provided. The paper will be printed in a forthcoming volume of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 28 MARCH 1934

G. C. BROOKE, LITT.D., F.S.A., *Director, in the Chair*

THE President—Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon—being unavoidably absent, Dr. G. C. Brooke was unanimously voted to the Chair, as Dr. E. C. Carter—Vice-President—was reading the paper for the evening.

Mr. C. J. Bunn was elected a Member of the Society.

Presentations to the Library

By MAJOR B. B. MORRIESON: A bound copy of the miscellaneous numismatic works by his father, Lieut.-Col. H. W. Morrieson.

By MESSRS. SPINK AND SON: *The Coins of the Dutch East Indies*, by Sir John Bucknill, M.A.

Exhibitions

By MR. H. J. DAKERS and CAPT. C. H. DAKERS: Scots six-shilling piece of the first issue of Charles I, dated 1632, in unusually fine state, also a crown of Anne, with E under bust, and dated 1707, in mint state.

By MR. L. A. LAWRENCE: An interesting series of brockages, including three of Iraq, which appeared to have been struck in one mass.

Paper

ON THE CONDITION OF COINS, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE ENGLISH SERIES

By E. C. CARTER, M.D., M.R.C.P.

Dr. Carter provided a most interesting evening, treating his subject from a standpoint not usually considered by collectors in the submission of papers. The paper induced discussion among many of the Members, especially as to the various methods of cleaning and preserving coins.

The paper will be printed in full in a future volume of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 25 APRIL 1934

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

The President referred to another loss sustained by the Society in the death of one of its Life Members, Mr. T. B. Clarke-Thornhill, and moved a vote of condolence and sympathy with the family.

Exhibitions

By DR. E. C. CARTER: In illustration of points brought forward in the paper read by him at the previous Meeting, Dr. Carter exhibited the following coins:

- (1) Charles I crown, with m.m. anchor, showing wilful damage to face of king.
- (2) Pattern fifty-shilling piece of Oliver Cromwell, showing peculiar damage to face.
- (3) Charles I half-crown—Type I a—showing obverse very much rubbed down, which had the appearance of being intentional.

By MR. JAMES KENNY: Examples of English coins having double-barred letters in the legend:

Henry II Short Cross penny **ILGER ON LVND**

” ” ” ” **HENRI ON LVND**

Henry III Long Cross penny **ROBERD ON CANT**

” ” ” ” **NICOLA ON CANT**

” ” ” ” **ROBERT ON CANT**

Edward I Class VII penny, having on obverse and reverse double-barred **N**'s.

Also an Elizabeth sixpence of 1562 with 156z.

By MR. H. A. PARSONS: A series of rare unpublished Colonial coins and tokens, which will be enumerated and described in detail when his paper is printed in full.

Paper

SOME UNPUBLISHED MAJOR VARIETIES OF COINS AND
TOKENS OF THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS OVERSEAS

By H. ALEXANDER PARSONS

Mr. Parsons fully described and exhibited some unrecorded coins and tokens in the Colonial series, which will be read with interest when the paper is published in a future volume of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 23 MAY 1934

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

The evening was devoted to a special exhibition of coins, medals, and tokens with discussion thereon.

Exhibitions

By MR. A. H. F. BALDWIN:

Athelstan penny with York Minster—B.M.C. 120/139—PYLTSIG.

Henry VII groat—1st issue—m.m. rose and lis conjoined on obverse only.

Philip and Mary shilling 1554—date below busts.

Charles I Weymouth fourpence, m.m. obverse, rose, reverse m.m. helmet.

Charles I Carlisle shilling 1645.

Charles I crown, Hawkins 1a, m.m. lis.

Cromwell ninepence 1658.

Cromwell sixpence 1658.

Cromwell crown 1658, by Tanner.

Cromwell Dutch crown 1658.

Cromwell crown by Simon.

Commonwealth half-crown 1651, in copper.

Commonwealth crown 1652, in beautiful condition.

Charles II hammered shilling, 1st issue, also in beautiful condition.

By DR. E. C. CARTER:

York half-crown of Charles I, in base metal.

York half-crown of Charles I, with Briot's horse.

York half-crown of Charles I, with horse coarsely executed.

Tower half-crown of Charles I, with m.m. anchor (prone), showing horse resembling that on the base-metal half-crown mentioned above.

By MR. V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON:

(1) Badge worn on shoulder belt of the Volunteer Corps of St. Saviour's, Southwark. Attached to it by a chain are a pin and brush for cleaning and clearing the pan and touch-hole of a flint-lock musket, which went out

of use about 1840. The badge bears the letters s^T_s surmounted by a crown and is apparently plated on brass. There is no specimen of this badge in the collection at the Royal United Service Institution. The oval form of badge was superseded by one of rectangular form.

- (2) A single pan from a pair of coin-scales, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter. The material is thin brass and there are 3 holes near the edge for the suspension cords. In the centre, within a beaded circle $\frac{5}{8}$ in. in diameter is a heater-shaped heraldic shield flanked by 2 sprays of conventional foliage and bearing what appear to be the 3 leopards of England. If this be correct, the date of the pan is presumably before 1340, when the lilies of France were first quartered in the English Royal arms. Two scale-pans very similar to this in size and style are described and figured in the *Revue belge de Numismatique* (1893, p. 521, pl. XII, 4; and 1897, p. 97), both assigned to the fourteenth century. In the former example the central device is the well-known Chatel Tournois, and in the latter it is a crown, while both are encircled by the legend LE DENERAL, in Gothic characters. These are referred to by Dieudonné in his *Manuel des poids monétaires*, and two further examples are noted from the French *Revue numismatique* (1886, pp. 257 and 265, No. 1, pl. xv, and 1895, p. 114, No. 62), but there seems to be no record of an English specimen so far as I have been able to ascertain.
- (3) Double-struck long-cross penny of Henry III—HENRI ON LVNDE.
- (4) Three German war-time local coins of:
 - a. Brunswick—10 Pfennig—1918.
 - b. Solingen—50 Pfennig—1917.
 - c. Suhl—10 Pfennig—undated.

By MISS HELEN FARQUHAR:

Roettiers cliché Memorial—*Med. Ill.*, i. 347/202—in illustration of a seal of Charles I.

Seal of Charles I, possibly by Rawlins. Vide the Oxford and Aberystwith pennies by Thomas Simon.

Ring remounted as a bangle, probably by Burch, an

eighteenth-century engraver, but traditionally ascribed to Briot. It might be by a member of the Roettiers family as it is after J. Roettiers' memorial plaque and his medal made after the death of Charles I.

Seal bearing portrait of Charles I, but of the time of Queen Anne—both as regards portrait and setting.

Seal of James Francis Edward, son of James II, known as the Chevalier de St. George or the Old Pretender, but by the Jacobites as James III and VIII.

A possible secret emblem seal of the Jacobites. The design shows three stars together and one single star above with laurel branches and the legend "Post nubela Phoebus".

By MR. JAMES KENNY: A few forgeries including one of a Pax penny of William I, a copy in brass of a half-groat of Edward IV, and five contemporary forgeries of long-cross pennies of Henry III from the Brussels Hoard.

By MR. I. R. R. L. PAKENHAM:

Edward III Pre-Treaty groat (Series C) with curious legend omitting all reference to "Gratia" on obverse. Possibly unpublished.

Henry VI Calais groat. Pine-cone masicle, annulet type. Mule. A rare example of two non-consecutive dies being muled together, the latest being used for the obverse. Unpublished.

Henry VI Calais halfpenny, annulet and pine-cone masicle types. Probably a unique example of two non-consecutive dies muled together, with latest die on reverse. Unpublished.

Henry VI Calais penny, a mule of the annulet and rosette types. Unknown to Mr. Walters. Unique and unpublished.

Henry VI Calais penny of the annulet and trefoil type. Very rare (See *Num. Chron.*, Series IV, pl. x, vol. ii, no. 9, from this coin.)

Henry VI "Restoration" groat with curious obverse legend "GRACIA" in full. Unpublished.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS:

Edward III noble struck at Calais.

Charles I unite with m.m. negro's head.

Charles I unite with m.m. plume.

Charles I unite of Oxford, 1643.

Commonwealth unite of 1653 and a half-unite of 1651.

William and Mary halfpenny in tin, 1690.

William III proof in silver of the farthing of 1698.

Anne farthings 1713 and 1714 and a proof in silver of 1714.

George I proof in silver of the farthing of 1718.

George III pattern halfpennies by Küchler for 1797, in copper and copper gilt.

George III pattern farthings by Küchler for 1798, in copper and copper gilt.

George III pattern farthing for 1797 in copper bronzed.

Marrian and Gausby's patterns for 10 cents Decimal coinage 1846, in copper, tin, and silver.

Victoria pattern penny 1865 with coronet instead of laurel wreath.

Van Tromp obituary medal.

By MR. W. G. WALLACE:

Henry III penny, Class V c, reading *HEN RIO NLV RIG*.

Henry III penny; obverse *HENRICVS* &c.; reverse blundered, some of the letters may be inverted.

Edward I penny, group I a c (Fox), no hair on forehead and reads *ANGDNS* . . .

Edward I penny, group I a c, with hair on forehead and reading *ANGLDNS* . . .

Edward III halfpenny of 1333-43 showing the outer lis trifoliate.

Octagonal token of JNO. KRICK; CERRILLOS, New Mexico, undated.

Small uninscribed silver piece bearing the head of the Virgin, provenance unknown.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 27 JUNE 1934

LIEUT.-COL. C. L. EVANS, *Vice-President, in the Chair*

In the unavoidable absence of the President, Lieut.-Col. C. L. Evans was unanimously voted to the Chair.

Mr. Fred Bailey Penfold, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., was elected a Member of the Society.

In view of the small attendance at this Meeting, it was decided to postpone the reading of Mr. W. C. Wells's paper on the Stamford mint to a later occasion, and the evening was devoted to an informal discussion of coins generally, and to Mr. Wells's very fine exhibition of the coins of the Stamford mint.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 24 OCTOBER 1934

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

The President regretted that it was his very painful duty to announce the death of Dr. G. C. Brooke since the last Meeting. Speaking from an intimate knowledge of the man and of his work as a numismatist, the President referred in very feeling terms to the loss that the Society had sustained by his untimely death. The President referred to Dr. Brooke's valuable services to numismatics and spoke of him as a man who by his courtesy and extensive knowledge had endeared himself to all Members, and added that he felt sure that many like himself would feel that they had lost not only a brilliant colleague but a very dear friend as well. Dr. Lawrence also spoke, from his own personal knowledge of the very valuable work done by Dr. Brooke at the British Museum, enumerating examples of his laborious and painstaking work.

A vote of condolence and sympathy with the bereaved family was passed in silence to his memory.

The list of Officers and Council nominated for the ensuing year was duly presented to the Meeting.

The following nominations for new Members were read and ordered to be suspended in the usual manner:

William Archer Brooke, and

Miss Stott.

At the conclusion of the business the Meeting was adjourned as a mark of respect to the memory of the late Dr. Brooke.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

FRIDAY, 30 NOVEMBER 1934

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

Miss Stott and Mr. William Archer Brooke were elected Members of the Society.

The Council's Report, which with the Treasurer's Accounts is printed later, was read by the Secretary and unanimously adopted.

The Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Douglas H. Whinney, presented the Society's Accounts for the year. They were explained in detail and comparison made with the previous year. The Meeting congratulated Mr. Whinney upon his accounts and passed them unanimously. Votes of thanks were passed to the Hon. Treasurer and to the Auditors, Lieut.-Col. C. L. Evans and Mr. C. E. Blunt, for their services.

Mr. H. A. Parsons and Mr. Ivo Pakenham having been appointed Scrutators, the ballot for the election of Officers and Council was duly taken and the result was as follows:

Officers and Council for 1935

President: V. B. Crowther-Beynon, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents: Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.; E. C. Carter, M.D., M.R.C.P.; Lieut.-Col. C. L. Evans; Lord Grantley, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.; L. A. Lawrence, F.R.C.S., F.S.A.; R. Cyril Lockett, J.P., F.S.A.

Director: Christopher E. Blunt.

Treasurer: Douglas H. Whinney.

Librarian: H. Alexander Parsons.

Secretary: H. W. Taffs, M.B.E.

Council: A. E. Bagnall; A. H. F. Baldwin; A. N. Brushfield, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.; Frank E. Burton, J.P., F.S.A.; J. B. Caldecott; H. J. Dakers, M.A.; W. H. Day; Miss H. Farquhar, F.R.Hist.S.; Willoughby Gardner, D.Sc., F.S.A.; H. P. Hall; Horace H. King; J. O. Manton; Ivo Pakenham.

A vote of thanks to the scrutators of the ballot was passed.

At the close of the Meeting, and at the instance of Dr. E. C. Carter, a vote of thanks was passed unanimously to the President—Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon—for his keen interest in the Society and for so successfully presiding at the Society's Meetings. In a suitable reply Mr. Crowther-Beynon thanked all the Council and Members for their appreciation and for the very loyal support that one and all had accorded to him.

Presentations to the Library

By MR. E. L. SUKENIK, the author: *The Oldest Coins of Judaea; Stamped jar-handles of the Post-Exilic Age.*

Exhibitions.

By MR. V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON: Cnut penny with reverse LEOPINE ON STAN.

By MR. JAMES KENNY: A penny of Berhtwulf, with an unusual spelling, not in the British Museum Catalogue, of BIARHVLF. Also a sterling of Arnold, Count of Loos. This latter is similar to the Edward I pennies.

By MR. W. C. WELLS: A very fine collection of coins of the Stamford mint, ranging from the reign of Æthelstan to that of Henry II.

Paper

THE STAMFORD MINT

By W. C. WELLS

Mr. Wells read a very exhaustive paper on the output of this mint during the several reigns of its being. The interest was considerably enhanced by the wealth of exhibits of coins which emanated from that mint. The paper is printed in this volume of the *Journal*.

The Council's Report

(30 November 1934)

The Council has the honour to present its Thirtieth Annual Report to the Members, and in doing so regrets to record that in the year 1934 the Society has suffered the tragic loss of one of its Royal Members in the person of His Majesty Albert, King of the Belgians, one who had taken an interest in the Society since 1910. The Honorary Members remain the same as last year, namely two. The Council, however, regrets to report that although the death roll has been slightly fewer than in the last two years, yet the Society has suffered a very severe loss, for many of the deceased were very prominent and active Members, either in their contributions or in their exhibitions, which have always been a strong feature at our Meetings. The losses are as follows: Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., a Member since the inauguration of the

Society in 1903—in fact one of its original Founders; Mr. Alfred Anscombe, F.R.Hist.S., also a Member since 1903; Mr. G. C. Brooke, Litt.D., F.S.A., a member since 1919; Mr. T. B. Clarke-Thornhill, a Life Member since 1912; Mr. S. Alan Garnett, a Member since 1924; Mr. T. K. Mackenzie, a Member since 1910; and Mr. A. J. V. Radford, F.S.A., a Member since 1909.

As noted above Mr. W. J. Andrew was one of the original Founders of the Society, the other Founders being Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton and Dr. L. A. Lawrence. In the aggregate amount of work done for the Society by an individual Member, it is beyond question that Mr. Andrew easily holds the record, for it is observed that he contributed no less than fifty papers to the pages of the *Journal*, of which he was the Editor of thirteen volumes. Many of the papers were of supreme importance and covered ground or propounded theories that had never been exploited. He received the Sanford Saltus Gold Medal as early as 1914. In addition to filling the post of Editor for so many years, Mr. Andrew was Secretary for twenty-one years, Vice-President for three years, Director for one year, and President in 1909. It is a matter of deep regret that his paper on the Cnut-Guthred coinage was uncompleted at the time of his death and that his researches into the coinage of Stephen—a companion work to his *Coins of the Reign of Henry I*—are still more or less in an incomplete stage although many casual notes and papers on that reign have been contributed from time to time. A man of many antiquarian pursuits, Mr. Andrew also made a name for himself by establishing the identity of King John's House or Hunting-box at Romsey, and his discovery of the Winchester Anglo-Saxon bowl at Oliver Cromwell's Battery. It is not generally known, however, that in his younger years Mr. Andrew was a prominent and courageous aeronaut, and *inter alia* in that capacity joined, in 1887 and two following years, General Brine in aeronautical experiments. He was awarded the Balloon Society's gold medal for his experimental work which greatly assisted aeronautics in those days.

Mr. Alfred Anscombe, F.R.Hist.S., joined the Society in 1903. For seven years he was one of the joint-secretaries of the Society, acting in his last four years of secretaryship as Editor of the *Journal*. He contributed several papers to the

Society, and although some of them were of a controversial nature, several of them were of very great interest and showed remarkable epigraphical knowledge. Especially do the following papers stand out: "The Inscription on the Oxford Pennies of the Ohsnaforda Type", "The Anglo-Saxon Computation of Historic Time", and "The Names of Old English Mint-towns in the Saxon Chronicle". A keen follower of Professor W. W. Skeat, Rev. Charles Plummer, Dr. Sweet and others, Mr. Anscombe was ever ready to place his great store of knowledge at the disposal of those students of early English coins, who found difficulty with the place-names or Moneyer's names. His delightful personality will long be missed by his former colleagues on the Council and by Members generally.

The name of Dr. George Cyril Brooke must be so well known in the numismatic world that there seems little need for the Council to expatiate on his work and knowledge. Entering the British Museum in 1908, Dr. Brooke became Deputy Keeper of Coins and Medals in 1932. Confining his attention to English coins and medals he has left behind him most reliable books to testify to the valuable work he has done in the science. To enumerate his best-known works we may refer to his two-volume catalogue of Norman coins, his *Guide to English Historical Medals*, his *Third and post-humous volume of Lord Milford Haven's great work on Naval Medals*, and lastly his excellent and magnificently illustrated handbook on *English Coins* published in 1932. For the latter work alone Dr. Brooke's name will ever remain in the front rank of English numismatists. Dr. Brooke was elected an F.S.A. in 1927 and made Litt.D. in 1930. He had been Editor of the *Numismatic Chronicle* from 1913 onwards, and was President of the Kent Numismatic Society from 1928 to 1930. Previously to his untimely death he was engaged on the coinage of the Ancient Britons, a work that was sadly needed to supplement the much earlier work of Sir John Evans. The Society has indeed suffered a grievous loss, for his intimate knowledge of English numismatics and his lucid explanations and criticisms made him an important factor in the discussions that followed the reading of papers at our Meetings. Yet it must be borne in mind that Dr. Brooke's death is not only a loss to the Society, but it is indeed a national loss.

Of our other losses special mention should also be made of Mr. Alan Garnett and Mr. T. K. Mackenzie, both of whom were Members of a rather retiring nature, yet contributed greatly to the success of the Exhibitions at the Meetings, by the wealth of their exhibits and notes on the same. A paper on "Livery Badges" by Mr. Garnett appeared in the last volume of the *Journal*. Of the remaining two, neither was an active Member in the sense of contributing papers, yet both were sufficiently interested in the Society's welfare and work to become and remain Members till their deaths.

The Council also regrets to record the resignations from various causes of four other Members.

On the other hand, the Council has pleasure in welcoming the following new Members:

University of London Library—Mr. Reginald A. Rye,
M.A., Goldsmiths' Librarian.

Mr. William Archer Brooke.

Mr. C. J. Bunn.

Mr. Fred Bailey Penfold, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

Miss D. M. Stott.

The Society's Membership, therefore, shows a net reduction of no less than seven Members. The Council, therefore, feel very urgently the necessity for stressing the point that new Members are essential to carry on the work of the Society. The Society has been very badly hit in the fact that during the last three years it has lost so many of the older Members, who were hard workers in the cause of Numismatics, in the sense of providing contributions for the Meetings and for the pages of our *Journal*. It may be that younger Members are deterred from providing papers from the fear of adverse criticism from older collectors, yet the Council sincerely hopes that these younger Members will come forward and make public any views that they may have formed as the result of their individual researches. Surely it is incumbent on those that are left to carry on the good work that has been initiated by such sturdy pioneers. Let the latter's work not be in vain but act as an incentive to further efforts on behalf of the Society.

Your President—Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon—has presided over most of the Meetings and continues to show that

interest in the welfare of the Society that is traditional with those who have previously held such office. He is congratulated on the result of his efforts, for he succeeded to the Presidentship at the most difficult period of the Society's lifetime. It behoves the Council and Members to give him their unstinted support.

Mr. Douglas H. Whinney as custodian of the Society's finances still continues to carry on to the extreme satisfaction of your Council. His task is not an easy one. He will himself present his accounts and reports to you. Mr. H. Alexander Parsons also continues to merit the thanks of the Council and the Society generally for his efficient work as Librarian. Various donors have added to our Library and their gifts have been acknowledged in our reports.

Donations to the Society include sums of one guinea each from Mr. A. E. Bagnall, Mr. T. G. Barnett, Dr. E. C. Carter, and Miss H. L. Farquhar. The Council records its thanks to these donors.

The attendance at our Meetings is disappointing, and the Council would like to see a great improvement in this respect, if only out of compliment to the authors of papers read and to exhibitors who help so substantially to the success of the evening.

The Council desires to express its thanks to Lieut.-Col. C. L. Evans and to Mr. C. E. Blunt for undertaking the duties of Auditors, and to Messrs. Parsons and Pakenham for acting as Scrutators to the ballot to be held this evening.

In conclusion the Council wishes to record its grateful thanks to all those who have contributed during the past year to the success of the evening Meetings by the reading of papers or by their interesting exhibits. The Secretary and Editor, too, desires to add his thanks for these papers and exhibits and at the same time press for still further contributions, &c., in order to make these evenings as popular to the many as they have been to the few. Especially would papers be welcomed from Members overseas.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1934

DR.	<i>EXPENDITURE</i>	£ s. d.		<i>INCOME</i>	£ s. d.	CR.
To Printing and Stationery		3 17 6	By Subscriptions received for 1934 . .		157 10 0	
„ Postages		6 6 11	„ Subscriptions in arrear received during the year		6 6 0	
„ Expenses of Meetings: Rent		30 0 0			—————	163 16 0
„ Sundry Expenses		10 11 1	„ Donations:			
„ Secretary's Expenses		52 10 0	A. E. Bagnall		1 1 0	
„ Librarian's Expenses		2 10 11	T. G. Barnett		1 1 0	
„ Expenditure on account of <i>Journal</i> (vol. xxi) .		1 0 3	Dr. E. C. Carter		1 1 0	
„ Balance being excess of Income over Expendi- ture transferred to General Purposes Fund .		111 1 1	Miss H. L. Farquhar		1 1 0	
		—————			—————	
		£217 17 9	„ Sale of Back Volumes			4 4 0
			„ Interest received			5 4 0
						44 13 9
						—————
						£217 17 9

BALANCE SHEET, 31 OCTOBER 1934

[illegible]

AUDITORS' REPORT

WE beg to report to the Members that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. No credit has been taken for Subscriptions in arrear. We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and are of opinion that subject to the above remark, the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Society.

(Signed) GILBERTS, HALLETT AND EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants*
51 Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2.

On behalf of the Society:

C. L. EVANS
CHRISTOPHER BLUNT } *Hon. Auditors.*

15 November 1934.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

SESSION 1935

President

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents

MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.

E. C. CARTER, M.D., M.R.C.P.

LIEUT.-COL. C. L. EVANS

LORD GRANTLEY, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.

L. A. LAWRENCE, F.R.C.S., F.S.A.

R. CYRIL LOCKETT, J.P., F.S.A.

Director

C. E. BLUNT

Treasurer

DOUGLAS H. WHINNEY

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H. ALEXANDER PARSONS

Secretary

H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.

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A. H. F. BALDWIN

A. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

FRANK E. BURTON, J.P., F.S.A.

J. B. CALDECOTT

H. J. DAKERS, M.A.

W. H. DAY

MISS H. L. FARQUHAR, F.R.HIST.S.

WILLOUGHBY GARDNER, D.SC., F.S.A.

H. P. HALL

HORACE H. KING

J. O. MANTON

IVO PAKENHAM

PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

- 1903-4 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1905 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1906 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1907 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1908 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1909 W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
- 1910 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1911 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1912 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1913 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1914 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1915 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
- 1916 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1917 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1918 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1919 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1920 FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
- 1921 FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
- 1922 J. SANFORD SALTUS—*till 22 June*
- 1922 GRANT R. FRANCIS—*from 28 June*
- 1923 GRANT R. FRANCIS
- 1924 GRANT R. FRANCIS
- 1925 GRANT R. FRANCIS
- 1926 MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.
- 1927 MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.
- 1928 MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.—*till 20 February*
- 1928 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.—*from 22 February*
- 1929 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1930 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1931 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., F.R.S.A.
- 1932 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., F.R.S.A.
- 1933 V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
- 1934 V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
- 1935 V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS GOLD MEDAL

This medal is awarded by ballot of all the Members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members as being in their opinion the best in the interests of numismatic science".

The Medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by a gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society, the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911 and thenceforward triennially.

Medallists

1910 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A

1911 MISS HELEN FARQUHAR

1914 W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

1917 L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.

1920 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A

1923 H. ALEXANDER PARSONS

1926 GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.

1929 J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX, R.B.A.

1932 CHARLES WINTER

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 23 JANUARY 1935

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

The Meeting was informed that the Council had unanimously elected Mr. James Kenny to fill a vacancy in that body for the year 1935. The evening was devoted to a special exhibition of coins and medals.

Exhibitions

By MISS H. FARQUHAR: Two curious pieces of modern Dutch (?) repoussé work—copies of two well-known pictures, Nos. 1135 and 2016 respectively in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam (see catalogue of 1927). Both pictures have been often engraved by Houbrakent and others and the silver rendering is a free copy, little attention being paid to portraiture. The originals—1135 by Bartholomew van der Helst and 2016 by Rembrandt van Rijn respectively—were painted to represent the Guild Corps of Amsterdam in 1648 and 1642, the “Doelen” as they were called.

The van der Helst commemorates the banquet on the Peace of Munster, whilst the Rembrandt, called “The Night-watch”, is perhaps the best-known picture in the Rijks Museum and occupies a room by itself.

Miss Farquhar stated that she bought them for a small sum in London, the pictures always having had an attraction for her, but it was obvious that they were quite modern, speaking only from the point of view of technique, and she placed them at random in the early part of the twentieth century. It seemed, however, worth while to get an expert to explain the marks, which she now understands to be a jumbled representation of Dutch marks of The Hague and Terschelling, the female head being that of the present French Republic. These marks are clearly made to deceive, but as copies the pictures are fairly accurate and one wonders whether they are the effort of some young twentieth-century student, dressed for the market with the hall marks, which in themselves would completely give them away. They were the only specimens Miss

Farquhar had seen anywhere, although she was frequently in Holland in the early part of this century and she only exhibited them as an amusing piece of modern work.

By MR. H. P. HALL: A very fine series of the silver pound and half-pound pieces of Charles I comprising:

The Oxford half-pound of 1642 with the Oxford plumes on both sides.

The Oxford half-pound of 1642 with Shrewsbury plumes on reverse.

The Oxford half-pound of 1643 with Oxford plumes on both sides.

The Oxford pound of 1642, by Rawlins, with mint-mark plume on obverse and mint-mark 5 pellets on reverse. Shrewsbury plumes on reverse.

The Oxford pound of 1642, with mint-mark plume on obverse and mint-mark 7 pellets on the reverse. Arms and cannon under horse.

The Oxford pound of 1643 with mint-mark 7 pellets on reverse, by Rawlins. Oxford plumes both sides.

The Oxford pound of 1644, with Declaration in a compartment, ex Dimsdale, Thomas 1845, Shepherd, Thompson-Yates, and Murdoch collections.

The Shrewsbury half-pound of 1642, with mint-mark plume on reverse.

The Shrewsbury half-pound of 1642, with mint-mark 9 pellets on obverse and mint-mark 4 pellets on reverse.

The Shrewsbury pound of 1642 with mint-mark 5 pellets.

The Shrewsbury pound of 1642 with mint-mark 5 pellets, on reverse. Arms under horse.

By MR. R. C. LOCKETT: A very fine series of fifty-eight unites of the Tower mint of Charles I and a unique unite of Truro or Exeter comprising:

Kenyon type I:

m.m. lis (1625), single-arched crown—varieties of king's bust. 2

m.m. lis (1625), double-arched crown—varieties of position of mint-mark on reverse. 2

m.m. cross on steps (1625-6), single-arched crown. 1

Rare.

Kenyon type I a:

m.m. cross on steps (1625-6), MAG BRIT, MAG BRI, MAG BR (two varieties).	4
m.m. negro's head (1626-7)—varieties.	3
m.m. castle (1627), MAG BRI, MAG BR FRA, MAG BR FR (varieties).	7
m.m. anchor (1628), MAG B FRA, MAG BR FR.	2
m.m. anchor, anchor below bust. No mint-mark on obverse. RR.	I
m.m. heart (1629), MAG BR FR, MA BR FR HIB, MA BR FR HI (two varieties).	4
m.m. plume (1630), square shield on reverse—varieties.	3

Kenyon type II:

m.m. plume (1630), oval shield and C—R, BRIT HIB, BRIT HI, BR HI.	3
m.m. rose over plume, MAG BRI FRA ET HIB. Rare.	I
m.m. rose, MAG BRI, MAG BR.	2

Ruding XIII. V:

m.m. harp (1632). Oval shield and HIB. Ex Martin, Lord Hastings, and Moon collections. Excessively rare.	I
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Kenyon type III:

m.m. harp, HI. Rare.	I
m.m. portcullis (1633), MAG BR FR ET HIB, HI, MA BR.	3
m.m. bell (1634).	I
m.m. coronet (1635), MAG BR FR ET HIB, HI (two varieties).	3
m.m. tun (1636-8).	I
m.m. anchor (1638), $\nabla \leftarrow +$, $\rightarrow \rightarrow$, $\leftarrow \rightarrow$.	3
m.m. triangle over anchor on obverse. Triangle on reverse.	I
m.m. triangle within circle—FLORRENT.	I
m.m. star (1640).	I
m.m. (P), (1643).	I
m.m. (R), (1644).	I
m.m. eye, (1645).	I
m.m. sceptre (1646). RR.	I
m.m. sun. RR.	I

Briot:

m.m. anchor.	I
m.m. flower.	I

Exeter or Truro unite:

m.m. rose on obverse and reverse. Oval shield on reverse. Believed to be unique.	I
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Kenyon lists 49 Tower unites and 4 of Briot's, but some of the readings are not represented in the series exhibited by Mr. Lockett. Mr. Lockett was of opinion that if the gold coinage of the Tower mint were studied on similar lines to those adopted by Mr. Grant Francis in his monograph on the silver coins of Charles I, the number of varieties, exclusive of stop placings, might be found to reach between 70 and 80 in number.

By MR. IVO PAKENHAM: Some unpublished, or unique, varieties of the Norman coinage:

1. William I, type V, "Two Stars", London penny. Stars have eight points instead of the normal six. Beaded inner circle instead of plain. Pellet on right shoulder only and a thin line at base of neck. There is also a small pellet to left of left-hand star. From the Roth and Marno collections.

Nearly every known variety of this type is figured on this single coin. Unpublished and probably unique.

2. William I, type VII, "Profile—Cross and Trefoils". Derby penny? Reverse GODPINE ON DE. The only known coin of this type for this mint. From the Rashleigh and Carlyon-Britton collections. The coin is classed as doubtful in Brooke's *Norman Kings*.
3. William II, type III, "Cross voided". Dover penny? Reverse MANPINE OND OI. Unpublished type, for this mint, of this moneyer.
4. Henry I, type X, "Full-face—Cross Fleury". Bristol penny. Reverse XILPAR (DVS O)NBRI. An unpublished moneyer for this type at this mint.
5. Henry I, type XI, "Double Inscription". London penny. Reverse (SP)ER(L)IG +ON(L)VND. An unpublished moneyer for this type. From the Bruun collection.
6. Stephen, type II, "Cross-voided and Mullets". Canterbury penny. Reverse (+)ROGER: B(O ONCANT). Unpub-

- lished, with surname (or description) of moneyer. From the Banes, Carlyon-Britton, and Douglas collections.
7. Stephen, type VI, "Profile, Cross and Piles". London penny. Reverse R(ODBER)T: ON: LVN. Believed to be unique of this type for London.
 8. Stephen, type VII, "Awbridge". Wareham penny? Reverse (+)ELI PE: ON: (PA)R(E)M. Unpublished moneyer. Mint (if correct) also unpublished. Unique.
 9. Stephen and Matilda penny. Obverse +STIE FNE: RQ. Unpublished reading, for this type, of the king's name.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS:

Two plaques of Charles I, one in bronze, probably the work of Obrisset, and the other in silver, with a bust similar to that on the Dutch Fishery Medal of 1636. The latter has a loop for suspension.

A Club or Society badge, with the head of George III on the obverse and the legend "Deus Conserva Leages Nostra", and on the reverse clasped hands, with the legend "Love and Unity".

Memorial medal of Charles I in silver. The reverse of this has the Hand holding the Crown of Glory from the clouds.

Badge of Charles I, with Royal Arms as reverse.

Scottish Coronation medal of Charles I, by Briot.

Stuart jettons, &c.:

James, Duke of York, with obverse "Non sic mille cohortes".

Charles I, with reverse "IN VTRVM QUE PARATUS 1643".

Medalet with obverse "HENR.MAR.BORBON.D.G.", &c., and reverse "Supereminet Omnes"—two varieties.

Medalet with obverse "Hactenus Anglorum Nulli", and reverse "Honor Prin. Mag. Brit. Fra. et Hib. Nat. 29 Mai Ann. 1630"—four varieties.

Charles I, with reverse "Regit Unus Utroque. 1628".

Marriage Medalets of Charles I and Henrietta Maria, two varieties.

James II, with reverse "Jac. Walliae Princeps".

Edward I pattern groat.

Commonwealth unite 1653.

Commonwealth half-crowns 1652, 1653.

Commonwealth shilling, 1651.

Cromwell ninepence 1658.

George II halfpenny countermarked with negro's head.

Silver proofs of copper tokens:

John Wilkinson, Iron Master—Fine Silver—1788.

Birmingham Mining and Copper Company halfpenny,
1791.

Erskine and Gibbs and Trial by Jury; reverse, T.
Hardy, &c.

Blofield Cavalry—Loyal Norfolk Yeomanry, 1796.
Halfpenny.

Wm. Forster—Violin tenor and Violoncello Maker—No.
348 Strand, London, 1795. Halfpenny.

Picard of Hull with Wellington and list of battles,
two varieties.

Perth halfpenny 1797, obverse St. John's Church.

Silver Medal of Shakespeare, with view of his birth-place,
1842, by H. H. Young.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 27 FEBRUARY 1935

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

Exhibitions

By MR. V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON: A monograph on the Abbey of St. George de Boscherville near Rouen, in which is depicted a capital showing a man striking a coin with punch, hammer, &c.

By MR. WALTER H. DAY: The new issue of George V for Mauritius:

One rupee, with Arms.

Half rupee, with stag.

Quarter rupee, with rose crowned, fleur-de-lis, and native flower.

By LIEUT.-COL. C. L. EVANS: Representation of the Silver Jubilee Medal in soap.

By MR. JAMES KENNY: Casts and photographs of the earliest Kentish coins, including those of Archbishops of Canterbury, &c. (period 763-923).

Kings of Kent (period 796-823).

Cast of sceatta of Ethelberht I, 568-615, and another of Ethelberht II, 725-60.

Also casts of Offa (Mercia); Cynethryth, his wife; and Egberht, his son. All struck at Canterbury.

By DR. L. A. LAWRENCE: Electrotpe of the silver standard of Edward I's long-cross coinage, with an impression of a coin stamped on it, the moneyer being Philip of London. The original is at the Royal Mint.

Piedfort of a Lincoln penny of Edward I.

Piedfort of a London halfpenny of Edward I. This coin has double-barred N, on both sides (N).

By MR. W. C. WELLS: Standard die of Henry II's first coinage, 1158-79. Found in the Thames off Southwark.

Paper

THE WORKING OF THE MINT IN THE MIDDLE AGES

By CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT

After a brief reference to the Greatly Laws, which were taken as a starting-point, Mr. Blunt discussed the position and status of the moneyer, a problem on which much has been written but on which there is always more to be said as further documents are published and made available for general study. Coming to Norman times, the tax called *Monetagium* was reviewed with remarks on overstruck coins and apparent cases of fraud on the part of certain moneyers. The question as to the source from which dies were supplied was also examined, and the reader produced evidence to support his theory that dies under the reign of Edward I were supplied from London and not made up locally from punches supplied from London, as is suggested by Messrs. Earle Fox and Shirley Fox in their *Numismatic History of the Reigns of Edward I, II, and III*. Later, while the general rule appears to have been that dies were supplied from London, there were some exceptions, notably certain York coins of Richard II and certain Durham coins of Edward IV.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 27 MARCH 1935

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

The Chairman announced with deep regret the death of one of the Society's Life Members—the late Marquess of Sligo. In reply to an expression of sympathy and condolence from the Secretary a letter was read from the present Marquess conveying his grateful appreciation of the sympathy of the Members.

Presentation to the Library

By MESSRS. SPINK AND SON: A bound copy of their *Numismatic Circular* for 1934.

Exhibitions

By MR. A. H. F. BALDWIN: The following siege pieces of Charles I:

Scarborough 3 shillings, octagonal.

Scarborough 2 shillings 10 pence.

Scarborough 2 shillings 4 pence, struck on edge of a piece of plate.

Scarborough shilling, an irregular piece of silver.

Beeston Castle 11 pence on rectangular piece of silver.

Carlisle 3 shillings 1645.

Carlisle shilling 1645.

Pontefract unite 1648 ex Murdoch collection. *Unique of this weight.*

Pontefract 2 shillings, lozenge shaped, 1648.

By DR. A. N. BRUSHFIELD:

Pattern Tael (Hong Kong). Atkins 137.

Pattern Tael (Hong Kong), Rayonne, not mentioned by Atkins.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ Tola, milled silver piece, ? German.

1 Tola, copper piece, also the half Tola piece.

These last three may be coin weights.

By MR. V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON: The following siege pieces of Charles I:

Pontefract shilling 1648, octagonal.

Pontefract shilling 1648, lozenge shaped.

Also the Pontefract shilling of Charles II, 1648, octagonal. Newark half-crown 1646, shilling 1645, ninepence 1646, and sixpence 1646—all lozenge shaped.

Also the following electrotypes:

Scarborough—"Caroli fortuna resurgam" circular.

Scarborough eighteen-pence, one shilling and fourpence, one shilling and twopence, elevenpence, and ninepence, all irregular.

Colchester ten-shillings gold, circular.

Pontefract, Charles II unite(?) 1648, gold octagonal, obverse and reverse.

Carlisle three-shillings 1645, obverse and reverse.

Shilling 1645 obverse and reverse. Both circular.

Of the above all the Scarborough pieces and the Colchester piece were uniface.

Mr. Crowther-Beynon was also indebted to the kindness of Mr. E. Thurlow Leeds, F.S.A., for casts of the Scarborough elevenpence and one for two shillings and twopence piece. These pieces are both in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and the latter coin appears to be an unpublished denomination.

Mr. Crowther-Beynon also exhibited a tobacco stopper containing a piece of the Boscobel Oak.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS: The following siege pieces of Charles I:

Newark half-crown 1646, three varieties of the shilling 1645 and 1646, and the ninepence 1646.

Pontefract two shillings 1648.

Ormonde crown, half-crown, shilling, and sixpence.

Cork farthing in brass with counterstamp CORKE beneath a lion's head, 1647.

Paper

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO ENGLISH SIEGE PIECES OF THE CIVIL WAR, *temp.* CHARLES I

By V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

The title of the paper speaks for itself, and Mr. Crowther-Beynon with his usual care and completeness gave many interesting details of the various sieges—details not usually sought after by the numismatist, who is usually content with acquiring the pieces themselves. Nevertheless, these

historical references are exceedingly interesting and of great collateral value to the study of those siege pieces. It is hoped that arrangements can be made to print the paper in a future volume of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 24 APRIL 1935

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

Exhibitions

By MR. R. CYRIL LOCKETT: The following coins *temp.* Henry VIII and Edward VI:

1. Henry VIII Tournay groat with initial mark τ crowned, and AGLI* ex Wheeler collection.
2. Henry VIII Tournay groat with initial mark τ crowned, and AGLI θ ex Burstall collection.

3. Edward VI crown of the first coinage:

Obverse +HENRIC * 8 * RVTILANS * ROSA * SINE * SPI.

Crowned rose between H R crowned.

Reverse K*DEI' * GRA' * AGL' * FRANCO' * HIB' * REX. Crowned shield between H R crowned.

Unpublished denomination with this initial mark.

4. Edward VI half-sovereign with youthful face—first coinage:

Obverse—no initial mark—HENRIC' * 8 * DEI * GRA' * AGL' * FRA' * Z * HIB * REX. King enthroned.

Reverse—no initial mark—IHS * AVTEM * TRANSIENS * PER MEDI * ILLOR * IBAT *. Tudor Arms on shield with supporters. K below shield. Unpublished with K.

Note. The K refers to Thomas Knight, who was appointed additional (Third) Under-Treasurer of the Tower Mint in 1545 and appears to have held that appointment until 1550.

5. Edward VI Testoon, 1549 with initial mark t, ex Murdoch collection.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS: Henry III Long Cross penny with reverse WIL | LEM | ONK | AN for Canterbury mint.

Paper

NOTES ON THE LETTERS ON EARLY SCOTTISH COINS

By H. J. DAKERS, M.A.

Papers on Scottish coins have not received the attention in the Society's *Journal* that their many peculiarities warrant, so we welcome the more this further contribution from the pen of Mr. Dakers. The paper will appear in full in a future volume of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 22 MAY 1935

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair**Exhibitions*

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL: A Jubilee Medal in silver, designed by H. W. Simpson. The obverse bears portraits of the King and Queen, surrounded by Colonial Emblems and the reverse has a figure of Peace with a frieze representing the progress of the Arts, Sciences, Music, Ship-building, Architecture, &c., during the reign.

By MR. H. A. SEABY: The following rare or exceptionally fine coins:

Charles I proof shilling with mint-mark rose.

Commonwealth half-crown 1656, extremely round, perhaps made by Blondeau from the ordinary dies.

Oliver Cromwell farthing in extremely fine condition.

James II gunmoney crown in pewter, with inscribed edge.

Elizabeth portcullis one-eighth dollar.

Bengal pattern for 50 rupees 1797, with name of Sir John Shore, Baronet, Governor-General, on one side, and the name of George III on the other, the field in both cases being taken up by the usual Persian inscription. The edge is inscribed UNITED EAST INDIA COMPANY BENGAL 1797.

Bombay mohur and half-mohur of 1765.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS:

Massachusetts shilling, sixpence, and threepence of 1652 reading Masathusets.

Cyprus pattern piastre with thick figure 1, 1881, probably unique.

Victoria bronze proof set of 1860.

Victoria proof in nickel of the halfpenny of 1868.

Victoria proof in tin of the Jersey one-twelfth shilling of 1877.

Anglo-Hanoverian Mining thaler for Regenbogen, 1752.

By MR. SYDNEY WHICHER: A Richard II noble with obverse of the usual type and two trefoils in one spandril of the reverse.

Also a Calais noble of Henry VI. The ornaments on the obverse ship are lion, lis, lion, lis, *lion*. On the reverse is the mis-spelling TRANIENS, with broken-footed P.

At the opening of the proceedings the President extended a very cordial welcome to Mr. W. F. Meek of Dunedin, a Member of the New Zealand Numismatic Society, who was introduced by Mr. H. A. Seaby.

Paper

SOME NOTES ON PRIVY MARKS

By L. A. LAWRENCE, F.R.C.S., F.S.A.

In this paper Dr. Lawrence reviewed the result of his further researches into this most interesting subject. He remarked that there was still much to be done in the solution of its many difficulties.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 26 JUNE 1935

E. C. CARTER, M.D., M.R.C.P., *Vice-President, in the Chair*

In the unavoidable absence of the President—Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon—Dr. E. C. Carter was unanimously voted to the Chair. The following nomination for new Member was read and ordered to be suspended in the usual manner: Mr. Frederick Octavius Arnold, M.A., M.D.

Presentation to the Library

By HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF ITALY: Volume xv of the *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*. A special vote of thanks was passed to our Royal Member, who is not only the donor but the author of this monumental work.

Exhibitions

By MR. C. E. BLUNT: Three Durham pennies of Henry VI: Bishop Langley (1422-37):

- (a) Rosette-mascle coinage with star to left of crown.
- (b) Pine-cone mascle coinage with no episcopal mark.

Bishop Nevill (1438-57):

Leaf-pellet issue: with rings in centre of reverse (Nevill's mark).

Also the following other coins of Henry VI:

First reign. Pine-cone mascle penny of Calais peculiar in having a cross initial mark on the reverse.

Restoration 1470-1. Half-groat with restoration cross as initial mark, and a halfpenny with the same initial mark, which was unknown to Hawkins and is of considerable rarity.

By MR. JAMES KENNY: Two Jubilee crowns of George V, one with the motto reversed. Also various London and Calais groats and lesser coins of Henry VI.

By MR. H. ALEXANDER PARSONS: Coins of Henry VI in illustration of his paper:

Groats 1. Annulet-rosette (London).

2. Annulet-trefoil.

3. No symbols on obverse.

4. Mascles in tressure.

5. Rosette-mascle.

6. Annulet and pine-cone mascle; "mule" type.

7. Pine-cone trefoil; no cones on obverse.

8. Pine-cone trefoil on obverse; pellet on reverse.

9. Trefoil-pellet.

10. Cross-mullet.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS: The 48 stiver piece of Ceylon, with no ST under 48—probably a contemporary forgery. Also an apparently doctored shilling of George II to be confused with a guinea.

Paper

REMARKS ON THE SILVER COINAGE OF HENRY VI

By H. ALEXANDER PARSONS

Mr. Parsons with his usual thoroughness endeavoured to clear up as far as possible some of the difficulties that collectors have found previously in arriving at the correct sequence of the various types of Henry VI. The paper is printed in full in this volume of the Society's *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 23 OCTOBER 1935

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

Mr. Frederick Octavius Arnold was elected a Member of the Society, and the following nominations for new Members were read and ordered to be suspended in the usual manner:

Mr. Derek Allen, and

Mr. Albert James Newnham.

The list of Officers and Council nominated for the ensuing year was duly presented to the Meeting.

Presentation to the Society

By the BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY (per Mr. Shepard Pond, Secretary): Silver Medal struck in commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the Boston Numismatic Society.

Exhibitions

By MR. JAMES KENNY: The following pennies of Rochester mint:

Edward the Confessor—moneyer,	TAFERE ON ROCEE
”	GODPINE ON ROCEE
Aethelred II	”
”	EDSIGE M-O ROFEC
”	”
”	SIDPINE M-O ROF
”	EADPERD M-O ROFE
Canute	”
”	GODPINE ON ROFD
”	”
”	GODPINE ON ROFID

By DR. F. B. PENFOLD: A Continental denier.

Paper

SWISS OFFICERS AND MERCENARY REGIMENTS IN THE PAY
OF ENGLAND, WITH BIOGRAPHIES OF SOME OF THE
OFFICERS WHO SERVED ENGLAND

By L. FORRER

Mr. C. E. Blunt, on behalf of Mr. Leonard Forrer who was unable to be present, read the first instalment of what promises to be a most interesting paper on a subject of which little is known by British Numismatists. The Society welcomed with gratitude this first contribution from the prolific pen of Mr. Forrer.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

SATURDAY, 30 NOVEMBER 1935

E. C. CARTER, M.D., M.R.C.P., *Vice-President, in the Chair*

In the unavoidable absence, through illness, of the President—Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon—Dr. E. C. Carter, one of the Vice-Presidents, was unanimously voted to the Chair.

Mr. Derek Allen and Mr. Albert James Newnham were elected Members of the Society, and the following nomination for new Member was read and ordered to be suspended in the usual manner: Mr. Charles E. Jacobs.

The Council's Report, which with the Treasurer's Accounts is printed later, was read by the Secretary and unanimously adopted.

The Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Douglas H. Whinney, presented the Society's Accounts for the year. They were explained in detail and comparison made with the previous year. The Meeting congratulated Mr. Whinney upon his Accounts and passed them unanimously. Votes of thanks were passed to the Hon. Treasurer and to the Auditors, Lieut.-Col. C. L. Evans and Mr. C. E. Blunt, for their services.

Mr. H. A. Parsons and Dr. F. B. Penfold having been appointed Scrutators, the two ballots were duly taken and the results were as follows:

Officers and Council for 1936

President: V. B. Crowther-Beynon, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents: A. N. Brushfield, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.; Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.; E. C. Carter, M.D., M.R.C.P.; Miss H. Farquhar, F.R.Hist.S.; Horace H. King; J. O. Manton, A.R.Hist.S.

Director: Christopher E. Blunt.

Treasurer: Douglas H. Whinney.

Librarian: H. Alexander Parsons.

Secretary: H. W. Taffs, M.B.E.

Council: A. E. Bagnall; A. H. F. Baldwin; Frank E. Burton, J.P., F.S.A.; J. B. Caldecott; H. J. Dakers, M.A.; W. H. Day; Lieut.-Col. C. L. Evans; L. Forrer; Lord Grantley, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.; H. P. Hall; James Kenny; L. A. Lawrence, F.R.C.S., F.S.A.; R. Cyril Lockett, J.P., F.S.A.; Ivo Pakenham; F. B. Penfold, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

The John Sanford Saltus Triennial Gold Medal

The Scrutators having reported, the Chairman announced that this medal would be awarded to Mr. Raymond C. Carlyon-Britton in recognition of his papers contributed to the Society's *Journal*, especially that on "The Sequence of Mint-marks preceding, during, and succeeding the Restoration of Henry VI", and that on "The Last Coinage of Henry VII".

A vote of thanks to the Scrutators was passed.

The evening was devoted to an exhibition of coins and medals, &c., with appropriate discussion thereon.

Exhibitions

By MR. H. H. KING: A series of coins of the Chichester mint from Æthelred II to John.

By MR. IVO PAKENHAM: The following rare pennies and half-groat:

- (1) Henry I penny of London. Type I, with moneyer PIILFPORD ONL VN. Both type and moneyer given as uncertain in *Norman Kings*, but this coin makes both clear.
- (2) Henry I penny of London. Type XIV. No cross on obverse, little or no beaded inner circle, and longer sceptre than usual. A curious unpublished variety.
- (3) Stephen and Matilda penny with unpublished obverse reading STÆ FNE : R☉.
- (4) Prince Henry of Northumberland penny with unpublished obverse and reverse readings, in particular

the normally barred N's on obverse, and curious Θ on reverse +N:EN:CON. +:WILEL:M:ONIC:K

- (5) Richard II half-groat with unbarred N's on reverse, pellet over crown, and two saltires before :CIV on reverse.

By MR. H. ALEXANDER PARSONS: The second known example of the rosette-mascle quarter noble of Henry VI, omitting the mascles. The other specimen is mentioned by Kenyon, and is in the British Museum.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS: A selection of early pennies—all of Kentish mints.

Massachusetts sixpence 1652 reading Masachusets.

Massachusetts threepence 1652 reading Masachusets.

Australia—Hogarth and Erichsen, Sydney threepence, brilliant.

Kruger five shillings 1892, with error double shaft.

God Preserve—Carolina—The Lords Proprietors, 1694.

Scottish Bracteate—Angus McDonald—William Fraser.

The Council's Report

(30 November, 1935)

The Council has the honour to present its Thirty-first Annual Report to the Members, and in doing so announces with pleasure that the list of seventeen Royal Members and two Honorary Members remains the same as last year. The Council, however, again regrets to report that the Society has lost seven more of its Members through death. The losses are as follows: Mr. T. G. Barnett, F.S.A., a Member since 1921; Colonel A. Horsman Coles, C.M.G., D.S.O., a Member since 1926; Mr. C. M. Fox, a Member since 1910; Mr. E. S. Herdman, a Member since 1933; Mr. William Mayes, F.R.I.B.A., a Member since 1909; Mr. Herbert Peck, M.D., a Member since 1903; The Marquess of Sligo, F.S.A., a Life Member since 1910.

Of the above, Dr. Peck has been the only contributor to the pages of the *Journal* when he wrote a paper on "A Find of Roman Denarii and an Early British Coin at Ashover, Derbyshire". Mr. T. G. Barnett will also be missed by his many friends, for in early days especially, he was a frequent visitor—although living outside Birmingham—and his ex-

hibitions were always interesting. The Marquess of Sligo had also been an exhibitor.

The Council also regrets to record the resignation from various causes of five other Members.

On the other hand, the Council has pleasure in welcoming the following new Members:

Mr. Derek Allen,

Mr. Frederick Octavius Arnold, M.A., M.D., and

Mr. Albert James Newnham.

The Society's Membership, therefore, shows a net reduction of no less than nine Members. This loss in Membership is to be deplored. There is no doubt that Members who are within reach of the Meetings, and these are comparatively few, recognize the difficulties under which the Council are labouring in trying to keep the influx and efflux of Members nicely balanced. The Council, therefore, earnestly asks for the co-operation of those Members who reside at a distance to use their best efforts to bring before their collector friends the advantages of contact with such societies, both to themselves and to their fellow students in numismatics. Although some few new Members are introduced by existing Members who are in the provinces, yet it invariably happens that the great majority of new Members, whether near at home or afar owe their introduction to the Society to the comparatively few who attend the Meetings. Only by the acquisition of new Members, who are students as well as collectors, and who are willing to contribute the results of their researches for the benefit of other collectors and the study in general, can any Society hope to maintain itself as a going concern.

To encourage new Members and to create an interest among the younger generation it is advisable to mention here a new scheme that the Council has adopted for that purpose. The resolutions passed were as follows:

'In order to encourage the study of numismatics, the Council shall at its discretion, admit as junior Members of the Society persons of not less than seventeen and not more than twenty-one years of age. Such junior members must be proposed by one Member of the Society, or by a parent, or by some responsible authority, e.g. a master or tutor. Junior Members shall pay an annual subscription of half a guinea, but shall not be liable for an entrance fee. On their attaining the age of twenty-one they shall rank as ordinary Members and be liable for the full subscription, but not be liable for an entrance fee. Junior Members shall be entitled to all the

privileges of Ordinary Members, save that of voting at the Meetings. Also should the Journal of the Society be issued in paper covers and binding cases be subsequently provided at the expense of the Society, they shall not be entitled to such binding cases, but may obtain them if they so wish on payment of the cost of the same.

"No. 2. That the Journal of the Society shall be issued every twelve months in paper covers—except in respect of the first of the New Series, and that periodically binding cases, suitably lettered, be issued for the paper parts when the amount of the contents justifies such issue."

This scheme is promoted so as to appeal to the rising generation in the hope that those who join will be worthy successors to those pioneers in the study who have passed on, yet have left behind them such monuments of sterling work and research. The Council trusts that the innovation will have every success.

Your President, Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, has invariably presided over the Meetings with his usual business-like methods and his usual urbanity, and it is a matter of deep regret that illness has prevented him from attending this Anniversary Meeting.

The Society also owes a special debt of gratitude to Mr. H. W. Taffs for his conscientious performance of the duties of Secretary which are perhaps the most exacting that any official of the Society has to perform.

Mr. Douglas H. Whinney—our worthy Treasurer—continues to husband with unqualified success the Society's financial resources, and the Society has every reason to be grateful to Mr. Whinney for his efficient work and for the very satisfactory balance sheet that he will himself present to you. The excellence of Mr. H. A. Parsons's work as Librarian leads the Society to view with greater dismay the prospect that this next year may be the last in which Mr. Parsons is able to carry on the office, on account of his removal to the West Country. In addition to his work as Librarian, Mr. Parsons has rendered the Society yeoman service in finding new premises for the Society's meetings, and there is every prospect that his labours will soon reach a satisfactory conclusion. Various donors have added to our Library and their gifts have been or will be acknowledged in our reports.

Donations to the Society include sums of one guinea each from Mr. A. E. Bagnall, Dr. E. C. Carter, and Miss H. Farquhar. The Council records its thanks to these donors.

The Council again expresses its disappointment at the attendance at the Meetings. A large attendance always has the tendency to promote discussion, which in itself is useful and informative.

The Council desires to express its thanks to Lieut.-Col. C. L. Evans and to Mr. C. E. Blunt for undertaking the duties of Auditors, and to Mr. H. A. Parsons and Dr. F. B. Penfold for acting as Scrutators to the ballots to be held this evening.

In conclusion the Council again records its grateful thanks to all those who have contributed during the past year to the success of the evening Meetings by the reading of papers or by their interesting exhibits. The Secretary and Editor, too, desires to express his thanks and with his usual persistence presses for more contributions and more exhibits to popularize the Meetings. Will Members overseas please note this conclusion.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1935

DR.	<i>EXPENDITURE</i>	£ s. d.		<i>INCOME</i>	£ s. d.	Cr.
						£ s. d.
To Printing and Stationery		3 16 6	By Subscriptions received for 1935	152 5 0		
" Postages		5 17 6	" Subscriptions in arrear received			
" Expenses of Meetings: Rent		30 0 0	during the year	7 7 0		
" Sundry Expenses		11 6 7			159 12 0	
" Secretary's Expenses		52 10 0	" Donations:			
" Librarian's Expenses		3 6 6	A. E. Bagnall	1 1 0		
" Expenses on account of <i>Journal</i> (vol. xxi)		18 6 2	Dr. E. C. Carter	1 1 0		
" Balance being excess of Income over Expenditure transferred to General Purposes Fund		89 12 0	Miss H. L. Farquhar	1 1 0		
			" Sale of Back Volumes			3 3 0
			" Interest received			5 5 0
						46 15 3
		£214 15 3				£214 15 3

BALANCE SHEET, 31 OCTOBER 1935

[illegible]

AUDITORS' REPORT

WE beg to report to the Members that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. No credit has been taken for Subscriptions in arrear. We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and are of opinion that subject to the above remark, the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Society.

(Signed) GILBERTS, HALLETT AND EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants.*

51 Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2.

On behalf of the Society:

C. L. EVANS

CHRISTOPHER BLUNT } *Hon. Auditors.*

27 November 1935.

LISTS OF MEMBERS
OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
ON 30 NOVEMBER 1935

Patron: HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V

ROYAL MEMBERS

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS BEATRICE.

In Alphabetical Order

HIS MAJESTY CHRISTIAN X, KING OF DENMARK AND ICELAND.
HER MAJESTY ALEXANDRINE, QUEEN OF DENMARK AND ICELAND.
HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF ITALY.
HIS MAJESTY HAAKON VII, KING OF NORWAY.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF NORWAY.
HIS MAJESTY ALFONSO XIII, KING OF SPAIN
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF SPAIN
HIS MAJESTY GUSTAV, KING OF SWEDEN.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCESS OF SWEDEN.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN AMELIA.

HONORARY MEMBERS

In Order of Election

- 1903 SIR HENRY CHURCHILL MAXWELL-LYTE, K.C.B., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A.,
Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, 61 Warwick Square,
London, S.W. 1.
1905 VERNON HORACE RENDALL, ESQ., B.A., 15 Wellesley Mansions, Ken-
sington, London, W.

MEMBERS

*The sign * signifies that the member has compounded for his annual subscription.*

- 1905 *a-ABABRELTON, ROBERT, ESQ., F.R.E.S., F.R.G.S., Post Box 322,
Pietermaritzburg, Natal, South Africa; 30 Killyon Road, Clap-
ham Rise, London, S.W. 4.
1921 ABBOTT, DR. G. H., President of the Australian Numismatic Society,
185 Macquarie Street, Sydney, Australia.

- 1904 ABERDEEN, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY, G. M. Fraser, Esq., Librarian, Aberdeen.
- 1907 ABERDEEN, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, W. Douglas Simpson, Esq., D.Litt., Librarian, Aberdeen.
- 1935 ALLEN, DEREK T., ESQ., 14 Great Ormonde Street, London, W.C. 1.
- 1906 AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, THE, 156th Street, West of Broadway, New York.
- 1929 ANTHONY, EDWARD SAMUEL, ESQ., 2 St. James's Buildings, 115-17 King William Street, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1906 ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON, THE SOCIETY OF, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W. 1.
- 1915 ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND, THE SOCIETY OF, Edinburgh, J. Graham Callander, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., Secretary.
- 1935 ARNOLD, FREDERICK OCTAVIUS, ESQ., M.A., M.D., Wynthorpe, Hale, Cheshire.
- 1922 BAGNALL, A. E., ESQ., 3 Castle Road, Shipley, Yorkshire.
- 1905 BAIRD, THE REV. DR. ANDREW B., 247 Colony Street, Winnipeg, Canada.
- 1903 BALDWIN, A. H., ESQ., 12 Ailsa Road, St. Margarets, Middlesex.
- 1923 BALDWIN, A. H. F., ESQ., 3 Adelphi Terrace House, Adelphi, London, W.C. 2.
- 1903 BALDWIN, PERCY J. D., ESQ., 2 Glenesk Road, Eltham, S.E. 9.
- 1904 *BARNARD, ROBERT, ESQ., M.E., C.C.M., M.I.M.E., c/o Messrs. Gibson and Weldon, 27 Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2.
- 1930 BAVARIAN STATE LIBRARY, MUNICH, c/o A. Asher and Co., Buchhandlung, Behrenstrasse, 17, Berlin, W. 8.
- 1903 BAYLEY, ARTHUR R., ESQ., B.A., Cotford, Graham Road, Malvern.
- 1909 BELFAST CENTRAL PUBLIC LIBRARY, J. B. Goldsborough, Esq., Chief Librarian, Belfast, Ireland.
- 1911 BERRY, SIR JAMES, F.R.C.S., Kirby Gate, Westmead, Roehampton, S.W. 15.
- 1904 BIRKENHEAD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES, John Shepherd, Esq., Librarian, Central Library, Birkenhead.
- 1906 BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES, H. M. Cashmore, Esq., The City Librarian, Birmingham, 1.
- 1933 BLUNT, CHRISTOPHER E., ESQ., 15 Gerald Road, London, S.W. 1.
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VIKING COINS OF THE TENTH CENTURY

NORTHUMBRIAN PENNIES OF THE TENTH CENTURY

By DEREK ALLEN

THE coins of the Viking invaders do not form a regular series in the same way as the coins of their English contemporaries. This, combined with our ignorance of the history of the period, has made it impossible to attribute the coins to reigns with any degree of certainty. The earlier Danish coins are fairly well known from the Cuerdale hoard,¹ even if they are often still unexplained. The later coins are, however, of great rarity, and though many types have been discussed individually,² there exists no complete collection of the known varieties. In this paper I have brought together all the types and moneyers I could find, including a number which are not mentioned in Hawkins or Brooke. In the process I have suggested a number of new dates and attributions which, though far from certain, seem to me more probable than those at present in vogue.

The names which lead to most confusion are those of Sihtric and Regnald. Each name was borne by more than one ruler and is also known on coins of the period. There are, for instance, seven varieties of coin on record which bear the name Sihtric.

Obverse

Reverse

I.

SITRIC
+ + +
COMEL

GVIIID
ΓCELDFO
BERTVΓ

(*British Museum and Rashleigh Sale, 1909, lot 169.*)

Pl. fig. 1.

2.

+SITRIC·E·LINVNE·A

+·A·S·COLV HONETR·A

Triquetra in centre.

Danish Standard in centre.

(*British Museum and elsewhere.*)

Pl. fig. 2.

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1843, pp. 1 ff.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1869, pp. 54 ff.; Caesar Caine, *The Archiepiscopal Coins of York*, pp. 21 ff.; Edward Hawkins, *Silver Coins of England*, pp. 92 ff.; G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, pp. 33 ff. For a bibliography of Yorkshire coins see *Annual Report of Yorkshire Philosophical Society*, mcmxiii, pp. 102-3; a list of coins, pp. 41 ff.

176 *Northumbrian Pennies of the Tenth Century*

Obverse

Reverse

3.

SITR
I]CRE*

+]AREMO[
⚔ in centre.

Sword pointing right with
zig-zag decoration in
centre.

(*British Museum = Num. Chron.*, 1869, *pl. II*, 17.)

Pl. fig. 3.

4.

SITR
ICREX

+∞IBRANT.
T in centre.

Plain sword pointing right
in centre.

(*Stockholm Museum — Hildebrand*, *p. 4*.)

5.

∞ITR
ICREX

TYG3ΛDT2ΛC+
⚔ in centre.

Sword as above.

(*Rashleigh Sale*, 1909, *lot 170*.)

Pl. fig. 4.

5a.

∞ITR
ICREX

The same die as No. 5.

Sword as above.

(*Montagu Sale*, 1895, *lot 423*.)

6.

LVD0
SI ⚔ TRC

+ERIC M ∞ OTI
⚔ in centre.

Sword as above with three
pellets at point.

(*British Museum*.)

Pl. fig. 5.

7.

+ITR
RBC

+INEIΛII0IN
⚔ in centre.

Sword as above with one
pellet on blade.

(*Num. Chron.*, 1869, *pl. II*, 19.)

Obverse

Reverse

7a.

+ITR

The same die as No. 7.

RRM

Sword as on No. 7.

(Montagu Sale, 1895, lot 424.)

1. It is well known that the coin No. 1 (**Pl. fig. 1**) cannot be ascribed to any known historical figure. The coin is a derivative of the Oxford type of Alfred, which began not earlier than A.D. 890. Its moneyer *Gundibertus* struck St. Edmund pennies, which also began after about A.D. 890. The only two specimens recorded were found in the Cuerdale hoard and must therefore be earlier than about A.D. 910. The forms of the letters, which resemble coins of Edward the Elder, suggest that it belongs to the early years of the tenth century. It cannot possibly have been struck for the Sihtric who was subsequently king. He was at this time probably in Ireland, and certainly not in a position to call himself earl or "comes" at Shelford. It must therefore be attributed to some otherwise unknown Dane.

2. The coin No. 2 of the Triquetra-Standard type (**Pl. fig. 2**) was made by the moneyer *Ascolu* and resembles precisely the coins made by the moneyers *Ascolu* and *Farman* for Anlaf, King of Northumbria from A.D. 926. There can be no doubt that this coin was struck by Anlaf's predecessor Sihtric, who reigned in York from 921 or 924 to 926. There are also two fragments of coins of this type which bear the name of King Regnald, and a moneyer's name beginning with the letters BA. These coins are discussed below.

3-7. The remaining five coins with the name of Sihtric form a single class (**Pl. fig. 3-5**). They all have a sword on the obverse dividing the king's name and are of a characteristic fabric. Three bear the names of intelligible moneyers (Nos. 3, 4, and 6); the remaining two are blundered (Nos. 5 and 7). Instead of the Danish title *Cununc*, they all use the title *Rex*, except one which substitutes the unexplained word *Ludo*¹, presumably also some title. Of the three intelligible moneyers, one probably and two certainly are known on coins of the Southern Kingdom. *Sibrand* may be identifiable with the *Sigebrand* known on coins of Edward

¹ Possibly LVDO is equivalent to LEODA, used, for example in *Beowulf*, as a title. v is often exchanged for eo in moneyers' names.

the Elder and Æthelstan. *Eric*'s name occurs on coins of Æthelstan and also on a coin of Regnald discussed later. *Are*'s name occurs on coins of Æthelstan, Eadmund, and Eadred. Both *Are* and *Eric* appear to use forms of letters on the southern coins, notably A and M, which are not common there and which recur on the Sihtric coins. Coins of both moneyers were included in a hoard of Anglo-Saxon pennies found in County Dublin in 1883, which contained only nine moneyers of Æthelstan.¹ Dublin at this time was a Danish possession. It is probable, then, that these three moneyers worked at different times for the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. The only point of time at which the careers of these three moneyers appear to overlap is at the end of Edward the Elder's reign or the beginning of Æthelstan's, about A.D. 925. This coincides precisely with the reign of Sihtric in Northumbria, A.D. 921/4 to 926. It is therefore fairly certain that these coins were all struck for the same Sihtric for whom the Triquetra-Standard coins were struck.

There is so little in common between these two types of coin in fabric, in legend, and in style, that they can hardly be the product of the same mint within the period of a few years. A mint for the series is, I think, suggested by the St. Martin pence of Lincoln (Pl. fig. 6 and 7). The style and the lettering are identical on both. The peculiar A and M both recur, and on one of the Sihtric coins, No. 3, the sword has the same blunted end as on the St. Martin pence. There are at least three different dies for St. Martin pence.

*Obverse**Reverse*

1.



(British Museum.)

+LINCOL·A·CIVIT

 in centre.

Pl. fig. 6.

2.



(R. C. Lockett Collection.)

+LINCOLIA CIVT

 in centre.

Pl. fig. 7.

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1883, p. 284.

3. A similar coin with reverse legend +INCOIACIVIT
(*Rashleigh Sale, 1909, lot 124; not illustrated.*)

Though the St. Peter pence of York also have a sword type, the resemblance to the Sihtric pence is not so close, especially in the lettering. Of the two places Lincoln seems a far more probable mint for the Sihtric pence. Lincoln was one of the five Danish towns; at another of them, Derby, we know of a moneyer, *Sigwold*, who struck at one time for Æthelstan and at another for Anlaf.¹ Lincoln is an equally probable site for moneyers who changed their allegiance from one kingdom to the other.

There is no general agreement as to the date of either the St. Martin or the St. Peter pence. Hitherto the tendency has been to link them with the sword-type coins of Eric, King of Northumbria in A.D. 948, and from A.D. 952 to 954, that is to say, some twenty-five years after Sihtric. There is no doubt that the ecclesiastical pence are more closely allied to those of Sihtric than to those of Eric. If I am right in attributing the Sihtric coins to the king of that name, the date of the earliest ecclesiastical pence will have to be brought backwards to the period about A.D. 925. The issue of the St. Martin pence must have been very brief. One specimen only (No. 3) is known with a slightly defective legend, unlike the St. Peter pence which are commoner with blundered than with perfect legends. There are also blundered versions of the Sihtric pence (Nos. 5 and 7). The St. Martin pence were therefore probably amongst the earliest of the sword-type coins, and may have preceded the Sihtric coins at Lincoln.

This new date for the St. Martin pence involves a similar change in date for the St. Peter pence of York. On the *Ludo-Sitrc* coin (No. 6, **Pl. fig. 5**), there is a curious object  dividing the legend. This also occurs on a number of St. Peter pence (**Pl. fig. 8**), both as a major and as a minor object in the design. It seems improbable that it made its first appearance on the Sihtric coin, where it occurs as a minor object; it is far more probable that it first occurred on the St. Peter pence, where it may be taken to represent a pall or some other ecclesiastical vestment. In this case the

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. xx, p. 12.

St. Peter pence must have been in existence before about A.D. 920. An earlier limit for them is given by the Cuerdale hoard; no specimen was found there, as it would certainly have been, had they been in existence in A.D. 910. They must therefore have started in the period immediately following the defeat of the Danes in A.D. 911, when the north apparently enjoyed a relative peace. Until then there had been no ecclesiastical coinage in York since the Danish invasions.

Degraded versions of the coins were struck for a long time. The earlier coins imitated the original sword type but with the legend misspelt (Pl. fig. 9). Later coins dropped the sword type and the weight was also reduced (Pl. fig. 16). On some of these the *Carolus* monogram was adopted for the reverse (Pl. fig. 17). The coins of the Northumbrian king Eric (A.D. 948 and 952-4) which also have the same sword type (Pl. fig. 10) appear to be copied from St. Peter pence in the first stage of degradation. This may be seen from the size of the sword hilt and from the three pellets which are placed on both at the point of the sword. It therefore seems probable that the St. Peter pence with the sword type were current some thirty years in York between their first appearance and the time when they were copied by Eric. The number of varieties is so large that this is by no means improbable. Eric was the last Northumbrian king; the later and baser versions of the St. Peter pence must have survived the Northumbrian kingdom and lasted into the latter part of the century. They were then, no doubt, unofficial issues; one cannot believe that even the most dishonest of archbishops could have perpetrated them.

The second of the names which has caused confusion is Regnald. There were two kings of this name. The first, whose dates are uncertain,¹ was the predecessor of Sihtric. He probably reigned from A.D. 919 to 921 or 924. The second Regnald was a nominee of Eadmund and reigned from 942 to 944, sharing or disputing the leadership with Anlaf. I shall describe these as Regnald I and Regnald II instead of distinguishing them, as is more usual, by their patronymics. There are six classes of coins which bear or have been supposed to bear the name of Regnald.

¹ The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is apparently confused in the years 921-4.

Obverse

Reverse

- I.

+REGN [] CVNVNC Triquetra. (Reconstructed from fragments of two coins, one in the British Museum, and the other in the Montagu Sale, 1895, lot 426. See Hawkins, No. 126.)	+B·A [] CNOTR·A·Γ Danish Standard.
--	---
2.

+REGN·A·L·D CVNVNC Cross Moline in centre. (British Museum and Hunterian Collection.) Pl. fig. 11.	+·AVRA HON·IT REΓ + in centre.
---	--
- 2a.

+R·AÐVLF HOHETΛ + in centre.	+ΛVRΛ HONIT REΓ Lead; weight 66 grains. (Lead trial-piece in British Museum, presented by Sir A. W. Franks.) Pl. fig. 12.
--	--
3. Three classes of coins which bear the name *Raienalt*, invariably blundered, and have on the reverse some abbreviation of *Eboraci Civitas*, also blundered.
 - a. Obverse, Head; Reverse, Carolus Monogram.
Pl. fig. 18.
 - b. Obverse, Hand; Reverse, Carolus Monogram.
Pl. fig. 19.
 - c. Obverse, Hammer; Reverse, Bow and Arrow.
Pl. fig. 20.
(British Museum and elsewhere.)
4.

+REYH+HCT+Γ + in centre.	+ VVLF +·+ RIEDI + (British Museum, from the T. G. Barnett Bequest.)
--	--
- 4a. Same obverse die as No. 4.

	+ PΛVIB +++ ERHT + (Num. Chron., 1843, p. 17, pl. I, 14.)
--	---

*Obverse**Reverse*

5.

+REGNALOR:WO EFR.

+ in centre.

+ERIC ONETA

Retrograde in two lines
with crosses between.*(Montagu Sale, 1895, lot 427.)*

6.

HT+EF.L.A.NGEA

+ in centre.

BERN

+++

ART.

(British Museum, from the Montagu Sale, 1895, lot 439A)
Pl. fig. 13.

6a.

HT+EF: L.A.NGEA

+ in centre.

Same reverse die as No. 6.

(Montagu Sale, 1895, lot 439B.)

1. These two fragments are tantalizing; they only permit one to guess at the name of the moneyer. This may be *Baciager*, though *Baldric* has also been suggested.¹ *Baciager* struck coins for Anlaf on which the name is spelt *Onlaf* (about A.D. 948-52), and for Eadmund (A.D. 939-46). The fragments have hitherto been ascribed to Regnald I (A.D. 919-921/4); it has been thought that he introduced the Triquetra-Standard type, copied later by Sihtric and Anlaf, and was responsible for the resumption of regular Northumbrian coinage. If the moneyer's name is *Baciager*, this attribution would imply too long a gap in the moneyer's career. He could hardly have struck coins in reigns twenty years apart and disappeared in the meanwhile; nor is the repetition of so rare a name likely. The name *Baldric* is not otherwise known as a moneyer of the period. It is therefore more probable that the coin should be attributed to Regnald II, whose coins were struck during the intermittent reign of Anlaf (A.D. 942-4). This argument must remain undecided until a complete coin is found.

2. The coin No. 2 (**Pl. fig. 11**) has also been ascribed to Regnald I, and this again is dubious. The only coin of similar type occurs, not as one would expect in the reign of Sihtric, but in that of Anlaf and in the earlier group of his coins which use the title *Cununc*. It was made by

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1869, p. 88; Hawkins, p. 94.

the moneyer *Rathulf*. The moneyer *Aura* is not otherwise known, except on a lead trial-piece in the British Museum (2a, Pl. fig. 12) which combines a very similar reverse die with a reverse die also of the moneyer *Rathulf*, identical with those used on coins of Anlaf, type vi. It seems more natural, then, to place the coin of Regnald in the reign of Regnald II, which, as we have seen, interrupted the reign of Anlaf.

3. The class of coins reading *Raienalt* (Pl. fig. 18-20) is traditionally ascribed to Regnald II. These coins are relatively common. They are of small size and exceedingly light weight; their workmanship is bad and the spelling unintelligible. They could hardly have circulated alongside the excellent pennies current between A.D. 940 and 950. The use of the *Carolus* monogram and *Eboraci* legend connects them closely with the later versions of the St. Peter pence (Pl. fig. 16 and 17). If the late date suggested for these is right, the *Raienalt* pennies must also come towards the end of the century, after the end of the regular Northumbrian series. The hand on some of them may well be copied from the hand type on coins of Æthelred II; it is certain that it has nothing to do with the hand on coins of Edward the Elder. Coins of this smaller module are more probable towards the end of the century than in the middle, since they might then have passed with coins of Æthelred II. They are probably the work of some otherwise unrecorded Danish or Norman marauder.

4-4a. The coins reading REGN followed by a series of unintelligible letters have been attributed by collectors and the compilers of sale catalogues to either Regnald at random.¹ Since both coins were found in the Cuerdale hoard, it is hard to suppose that they belonged to either Regnald, one of whom reigned ten, the other thirty years after the hoard was buried. The letters REGN are no doubt the blundered relics of the title REX copied from some other coin.

5-6. Nos. 5 and 6 are both semi-blundered coins and are linked by the fact that one legend of each is retrograde. Neither probably is an official coin, and both presumably refer back to a lost original of this type on which the name of Regnald occurred. No. 6 (Pl. fig. 13) has usually been

¹ The coin is identical with B.M.C. *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, ii, Alfred 412. See also Montagu Sale, 1895, lot 428; Bruun Sale, 1925, lot 49.

read as *Ectangbert*, an otherwise unknown name. Dr. Brooke made a manuscript note that the legend is *Regnald* copied backwards. The moneyer clearly could not read and he filled the remaining space at the end of the legend with the letters HT, borrowed, no doubt, from the end of some moneyer's name. In the same way on No. 5 WO EFR has apparently strayed here from the reverse of some other York coin. The type of these coins, though common in the south from the reign of Edward the Elder, is not known to appear in the north until the restoration of Anlaf in 948. Nos. 5 and 6 seem, therefore, to be copies of an original which is not likely to have been struck long before 948, and which must also be attributed, if it exists, to Regnald II. No. 5 was struck by the moneyer *Eric* whom we have already met as a moneyer of Sihtric and Æthelstan, unless this name, too, was copied from that of the king. Nos. 6 and 6a were struck by the moneyer *Bernard*, whose name occurs as a moneyer of Æthelstan at Derby and of Eadmund and Eadred without mint name. Derby was one of the five Danish towns. This tends to confirm the attribution to Regnald II.

There are, then, no coins which can with certainty be attributed to Regnald I, and only one (No. 1) which could possibly be his. The regular coinage of Northumbria is more likely to have begun in the reign of Sihtric than in that of his predecessor. His types were specifically Danish; English types do not seem to predominate in Northumberland till after the Battle of Brunanburh (A.D. 937).

This new view of the coinage of Regnald II confirms the opinions held by Dr. Brooke on the coins of the reign of Anlaf.¹ The coins of this king fall into three classes:

1. Coins reading *Anlaf Cununc* with Danish types.
 - i. The Triquetra-Standard type: moneyers *Ascolu* and *Farman*. Pl. fig. 14.
 - ii. The Raven type: moneyer *Athelferth*.
2. Coins reading *Anlaf Cununc* with English types.
 - iii. The Cross Moline type: moneyer *Rathulf*.
 - iv. The Small Cross type: moneyer *Sigares* of Derby.
 - v. The Flower type: moneyers *Ingelgar* and *Rathulf*.
3. Coins reading *Onlaf Rex* with English types.
 - vi. The Small Cross type: moneyers *Farman*, *Ingelgar*, and *Rathulf*.

¹ G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 36.

- vii. The type with moneyer's name in two lines divided by crosses: moneyers *Ingelgar* and *Baciager*.

Pl. fig. 15.

Anlaf himself had an irregular reign. He was in power in A.D. 926-7, 937, 941-4, and 948-52. Dr. Brooke has shown reason for attributing types i and ii, perhaps with type iii, to the period before A.D. 937, types iv and v to A.D. 941-4, types vi and vii to the period after his restoration, A.D. 948-52.¹ It is between these two latter groups that the coins of Regnald II fall (A.D. 942-4). The three types which I have attributed to Regnald II (Nos. 1, 2, and 5-6) form an easy transition between the earlier and later coins of Dr. Brooke's classification. They illustrate the change from the Danish to the English types.

The earlier part of the reign of Eric also fell within the limits of the reign of Anlaf. He appears to have succeeded Regnald II in A.D. 948 for a brief period. Of his two types one is identical but for the name with type vii of Anlaf, and was struck by two of Anlaf's moneyers with one new one (*Hunred*, *Ingelgar*, and *Rathulf*). Whether these coins were struck in this year or in the earlier part of his main reign (A.D. 952-4) is uncertain; nevertheless, the coins of this type are undoubtedly the earlier of his two issues. The second type, struck by the moneyers *Ingelgar* and *Aculf*, reverts, as we have already seen, to the sword type (Pl. fig. 10). Since the restoration of Eric in A.D. 942 represents the last effort by the Danes at independence, this reversion to an early and exclusively Danish type may well have been intended as propaganda.

In A.D. 954 the Northumbrian kingdom fell. The Northumbrian mints now passed for good into the hands of the Southern Kingdom which had already held them intermittently. This paper has dealt in a somewhat confused order with all the surviving Northumbrian coins struck between the reigns of Regnald I or Sihtric and the final expulsion of Eric. It has suggested various new interpretations, which, it is hoped, will be of interest to the fortunate collectors who possess any of the later Viking coins. The conclusions reached, however, must remain unproved until the discovery of more coins puts this study on a surer basis.

¹ G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, pp. 36-7.

COINS ILLUSTRATED:

1. Sihtric Comes: moneyer *Gundibertus*.
2. Sihtric Cununc: Triquetra-Standard type: moneyer *Ascolu*.
3. Sihtric Rex: moneyer *Are*.
4. Sihtric Rex: moneyer blundered.
5. Ludo Sitrc: moneyer *Eric*.
6. St. Martin of Lincoln.
7. St. Martin of Lincoln.
8. St. Peter of York: early type.
9. St. Peter of York: early type.
10. Eric: Sword type: moneyer *Aculf*.
11. Regnald II: Cross Moline type: moneyer *Aura*.
12. Regnald II or Anlaf: lead trial piece: moneyers *Aura* and *Rathulf*.
13. Regnald ?: moneyer *Bernard*.
14. Anlaf: Triquetra-Standard type: moneyer *Farman*.
15. Anlaf: English type: moneyer *Baciager*.
16. St. Peter of York: late type.
17. St. Peter of York: late type with *Carolus* monogram.
18. Raienalt: Portrait type.
19. Raienalt: Hand type.
20. Raienalt: Bow and Arrow type.

All the above coins are in the British Museum with the exception of Nos. 4 and 7, which are in the possession of Mr. R. C. Lockett.

A NOTE ON THE EAST RAYNHAM HOARD

By C. A. WHITTON

THE following is an analysis of Dr. G. C. Brooke's account of the 200 Edward III Nobles in the East Raynham find (*Num. Chron.*, 1911, p. 291) according to Mr. L. A. Lawrence's classifications (*Num. Chron.*, 1926-33).

Classification according to L. A. L.		Number of coins	The coins as numbered by G. C. B.
OBV.	REV.		
C	C	4	1, 2, 3, 5
C	E	2	4, 6
E	E	11	7-16, 30
E	F	1	36
E	Gd	2	31, 32
F	E	1	34
F	F	1	35
F	Ga	1	33
F	Gg	2	45, 46
Ga	F	1	21
Ga	Ga	1	17
Ga	Gb/c	5	18, 19, 22, 28, 29
Ga	Gd	1	23
Gb/c	Gb/c	2	20, 24
Gb/c	Gd	2	49, 50
Gb/c	Gf	4	25-7, 37
Gd	Gd	2	47, 48
Gf	Gf	7	38, 39, 51-4, 66
Gf	Gg	13	40-4, 55-8, 60, 61, 65, 67
Gf	Transitional Period	1	68
Gg	Gg	4	59, 62-4
Transitional Period	Gg	1	69
Transitional Period	Transitional Period	4	70-3
Treaty (a) [°ED]	Treaty (a) [Unbarred A in IBAT]	22	74-95
Treaty (b) [°ED]	Treaty (a)	3	96-98
Treaty (b)	Treaty (b) [Barred A in IBAT]	56	99-154
Treaty (c) [Crescent on Fo castle]	Treaty (b)	3	155-7
Post Treaty [Old Style]	Treaty (b)	2	158, 159
Post Treaty [New Style]	Post Treaty [New Style]	6	160-5

CALAIS COINS

<i>Classification according to L. A. L.</i>		<i>Number of coins</i>	<i>The coins as numbered by G. C. B.</i>
<i>OBV.</i>	<i>REV.</i>		
Treaty (a) [°ED]	Treaty (a) [Unbar- red A in IBAT]	8	Without Flag, 166- 71; with Flag, 175, 176
Treaty (b) [ED]	Treaty (a)	8	Without Flag, 172, 173; with Flag, 177-82
Treaty (d) [♣ED]	Treaty (a)	6	183-8 with Flag
Treaty (e) [ED°]	Treaty (b) [A bar- red in IBAT]	1	174 without Flag
Post Treaty I. Old Style. [No Flag: Crescent]	Treaty (b)	3	189-91 without Flag
Post Treaty II. New Style [Flag]	As London Treaty (b)	4	192-5 with Flag
Post Treaty III [As Group II]	Post Treaty New Style	5	196-200
		200	

The combinations noted by Mr. L. A. Lawrence not apparently represented in the find were coins with either Obv. or Rev. of Classes A or B; those with Obv. C, Rev. D; those with Obv. F and Rev. Gb or Gf; those with Obv. Ga or Gd, Rev. Gf; and those with Obv. (London) Post Treaty (New Style), Rev. Treaty (b).

A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY COIN WEIGHT

By DEREK ALLEN

A SPECIMEN of a rare coin weight has recently appeared in the British Museum. The type is already known from the specimen in the Cabinet de Médailles, which has been published by M. Dieudonné in his *Manuel des Poids Monétaires*, p. 92, no. 14 c; Pl. I, 28. There is also a third specimen, in a private collection. M. Dieudonné describes it as French, and believes it to have been made for a franc d'or of Charles V. Though the weight of the Paris specimen and of that in private hands would agree with this, the example in the British Museum is too heavy. Both the weight and the design of these pieces are consistent with the suggestion that they are English.

The weights are triangular; no other weights of this shape are known. In the centre of each there is stamped with a circular punch the head of a king, facing. In each angle of the triangle is stamped, with a small diamond-shaped punch, a fleur-de-lis. The reverse is plain. The Paris specimen and that in the private collection are from the same punches, but the British Museum specimen is from different and inferior punches. The Paris weight, which is somewhat worn, weighs 58.3 gr. (3.78 gm.); that in the private collection, even more worn, weighs 54.2 gr. (3.51 gm.); the London example, in mint state, weighs 59.7 gr. (3.87 gm.).

The weight of the English half-noble from 1351 to 1412 is theoretically 60 gr. (3.88 gm.). The weight of the franc d'or is 58.9 gr. (3.82 gm.). It is therefore more probable that the three weights, which must have been for the same coin, were intended for the English half-noble than for the franc d'or. The portrait on the weights closely resembles that of the king on the English coins during the latter part of the reign of Edward III or during that of Richard II. In the case of the Paris specimen it may conceivably be from the same irons, though the portrait on the British Museum weight could not have come from them. This portrait resembles more closely than anything else the head on the wardrobe counter, *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 7, no. 3. Mr. Lawrence has recently shown that these counters were

officially issued by the mint.¹ It is not impossible that these weights were also produced by the English mint.

English coin weights for the noble from 1412 to 1464 and its fractions are well known (see V. B. Crowther-Beynon,



1. BRITISH MUSEUM. 2. CABINET DE MEDAILLES.
3. PRIVATE COLLECTION.

Brit. Num. Journ., 3rd Ser., vol. i, p. 94; Dieudonné, op. cit., p. 113, Pl. VI, 35, 39-43). None earlier than this have been recorded. Messrs. Sheppard and Musham, in their book *Money Scales and Weights*, mention weights of Edward III (p. 175, no. 1). Mr. Sheppard has kindly shown me the weights, and it is certain that they are all weights either for the noble from 1412 to 1464 or for the rose noble of Edward IV. Although no weights are known earlier than 1412, there is documentary evidence for coin weights as early as the reign of John (L. A. Lawrence, *Brit. Num. Journ.*, 1st Ser., vol. vi, p. 288). It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the three weights in question are the earliest English coin weights as yet known, and belong to the latter part of the fourteenth century.

¹ In a paper read before the Royal Numismatic Society in October 1936.

AN UNPUBLISHED HALFPENNY OF JOHN BALIOL

By J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX

It is not easy in these days of intensive specialization and minute numismatic study to discover a British coin hitherto unknown to collectors, but such has apparently been my good fortune recently. The coin in question is a Scottish



JOHN BALIOL. HALFPENNY OF ST. ANDREWS.

halfpenny of John Baliol, 1292-96, which has on the reverse the name of the mint where it was struck, instead of the usual legend **REX SCOTORVM**, which is a continuation of the obverse legend. The reading is **CIVI | TKS | SAN | DRÆ** and there is a mullet in the field in the **CIVI** and **SAN** quarters. Although the piercing of the mullet is not clear, I think it is likely that the objects are mullets rather than stars.

Burns, in his *Coinage of Scotland*, states that halfpennies of John Baliol with the mint name are not known, and I can find no reference to any since that publication appeared. I think, therefore, that this halfpenny of St. Andrews, which is certainly unpublished, can probably be regarded as unique.

AN UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT OF JOHN

BALLOU

BY J. A. GRIFFIN

It is not easy to find any of the original documents and
manuscripts in the study in which I have been engaged
and I have been unable to find any of the original
manuscripts in the study in which I have been engaged



Manuscript of John Ballou, which has on the reverse
the name of the author, who was a member of the
Massachusetts Historical Society, and a contributor to
the Boston Herald. The manuscript is dated 1841 and
there is a note in the margin that it was written
for the Boston Herald. The manuscript is written in
ink on a piece of paper which is now yellowed and
the ink is faded in many places.

There is a note in the margin of the manuscript
of John Ballou which says that the manuscript
was written for the Boston Herald. The manuscript
is dated 1841 and there is a note in the margin
that it was written for the Boston Herald. The
manuscript is written in ink on a piece of paper
which is now yellowed and the ink is faded in
many places.



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GOLD COINS OF EDWARD IV

SOME NOTES ON THE COINAGE OF EDWARD IV BETWEEN 1461 AND 1470 WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE NOBLES AND ANGELS

By CHRISTOPHER BLUNT, F.S.A.

THE recent addition to the National Collection, in memory of the late Dr. Brooke, of a hitherto unknown early variety of the noble of Edward IV, and the discovery of a new variety of the first type of his angel, have prompted me to set down a few notes on the subject of his coinage.

THE NOBLES

The heavy nobles of Edward IV resemble those of Henry VI and were issued up to 1464. At first glance they might easily be mistaken for nobles of Edward III, but a closer inspection at once reveals a number of differences, notably in the reverse initial-mark, which is now a lis.

By the end of the first reign of Henry VI, the gold struck into coin had dwindled to very small quantities, as all collectors who have tried to acquire late nobles of his reign will agree. In addition to this rather unsatisfactory evidence we possess the mint-accounts which show that the amount of gold coined during the last nine years of his reign averaged less than 100 pounds a year, and in 1458/9 fell as low as 19 pounds. For the first eighteen months of the reign of Edward IV the accounts are missing, but during the next two years, up to the introduction of the light coinage in 1464, only 293 pounds were coined. It is probable therefore that only very small quantities of heavy gold coins were struck.

Since, instead of decreasing the weight of gold in the coins, the indenture of 1464 increased the value of the existing noble from 6s. 8d. to 8s. 4d., the change probably did not bring many gold coins into the melting-pot; in this case Gresham's law, that bad money drives out good, would not apply. However, the small amounts struck are enough by themselves to account for the fact that gold coins of Edward IV's heavy coinage are of the greatest rarity. In fact, until recently, only two specimens of the noble were known and none of the smaller denominations in gold. Both specimens were formerly in the collection of the late Sir John Evans, and

one is now in the British Museum (**Pl. fig. 1**), while the other is in the collection of Mr. R. C. Lockett. Both coins are of similar type, though from different dies, and are marked with a pellet at either side of the king's crown and a fleur-de-lis under the king's shield. There is no initial-mark on the obverse, but on the reverse is a large fleur-de-lis. The weights of the two coins are $107\frac{1}{4}$ and $108\frac{1}{4}$ grains. They are fully described by Mr. Walters in his paper on Edward IV in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Series IV, vol. ix, so that no further description is necessary here.

Recently, however, a new coin has come to light which differs from these two specimens in a number of ways. It is still of the noble, as opposed to the ryal, type, but it has as obverse initial-mark a small rose, the reverse mark being a lis as before. The coin is described below.¹

Obv. I.M. Small rose. EDWARD 'DI 'GRAN : REX * ANGL :
Σ * FRANCO DNS : HYB '. Figure of the king standing in a ship, a quatrefoil below his sword-arm. No pellets by the crown. The ship has four ropes from the stern and one from the prow.

Rev. I.M. Lis. INO AVT : TRANSANS PER MEDIVM
ILORV : IBYT ; & in centre with pellet in front. The curious spelling of TRANSANS and ILORV ' will be noted. Weight $107\cdot6$ grains. (**Pl. fig. 2.**)

This coin has been presented to the British Museum in memory of the late Dr. Brooke by a number of friends. It is believed to be unique. The two Evans coins clearly correspond with the early silver coins of the heavy coinage which have a lis on the king's neck and pellets beside the crown, but the position of what we may now refer to as the Brooke coin is not so clear. In order to see the difficulties which arise, it is necessary to summarize the changes that took place with the introduction of the light coinage. These can be divided into two separate parts: firstly those which resulted from the indenture of August 1464, secondly those from the indenture of March 1465.

The first indenture, dated 13 August 1464, provided that the weight of the penny should be reduced from 15 to 12 grains. The weight of the gold, on the other hand,

¹ The coin was first published by Mr. Lawrence in *Num. Chron.*, Series V, vol. xv, p. 135.

remained unchanged at 108 grains to the noble, but this coin was to pass for 8s. 4*d.* as against its old value of 6s. 8*d.*

The second indenture, dated 6 March 1465, provided for a further reform of the coinage. It can well be understood that a coin of the denomination of 8s. 4*d.* was inconvenient for calculations, and the new indenture, which leaves the silver unchanged, orders the striking of a new coin to be called the angel-noble, weighing 80 grains and having a value of 6s. 8*d.*, and a ryal, or rose-noble, of 120 grains, having a value of 10s.

It will be seen therefore that when one comes to differentiate the silver struck before 1464 from the pieces struck under the first new indenture, the weight provides an easy guide; the difference between the old and new groats is as much as 12 grains. Having divided the coins by weight, one looks for corresponding differences in style and for fresh privy-marks, but there appears to be nothing of the kind, for the first light coins were struck from the heavy dies and the weight itself would no doubt have been sufficient to distinguish them from the heavy coins, without the necessity of any further marking.

In the case of the Brooke noble one can say therefore with certainty that it is not a coin struck under the 1465 indenture, since from its weight and type it cannot have been a rose-noble. But it is not possible to determine with certainty whether it is a specimen of the heavy coinage or of the coinage issued under the indenture of 1464, that is, concurrently with the early light silver coins. The characteristic marks, the small rose initial-mark and the quatrefoil, are found on both heavy and light silver.

As has been explained, the indenture of 1464 ordered an alteration in the standard of the coins, whereas the indenture of 1465 ordered a rearrangement of the value of the gold coins of the existing standard. From this we can make certain deductions with a fair degree of certainty. The main purpose of the indenture of 1464 was undoubtedly to attract bullion to the mint, since as a result of it a seller of bullion would receive a larger face value of coin than before. That it was successful is shown from the mint-accounts. For the two years ending Michaelmas 1466 the quantity of gold issued rose from the small amounts already mentioned to some

12,000 pounds, and the silver bullion purchased rose to 55,000 pounds. There is no reason to think that the increase did not date from enforcement of the indenture of 1464, in which case it is likely that a comparatively large number of nobles of the value of 8s. 4d. were struck. One can surmise that they were called in after the issue of the indenture of 1465 on account of their inconvenience. While no definite opinion can be given as to the indenture under which the Brooke noble was struck, it would appear to be more likely that it is a survivor of what may have been a comparatively large issue of nobles struck under the indenture of 1464, rather than of what is known to have been a small issue of heavy coins.

THE ANGELS

For many years it has been thought that the angel succeeded the ryal and that, except for a short period, the two were not issued concurrently. It is true that the angel ultimately supplemented the ryal, but there is no *prima facie* reason to suggest that they were not issued concurrently in the first place, as the indenture of 1465 directed that they should be. The evidence indeed points the other way and is strengthened by a coin in the collection of the Earl of Ellesmere, a description of which is given later and which I am publishing here by his kind permission.

To review the position impartially it is necessary first to examine the sequence of initial-marks on Edward IV's light coins down to the restoration of Henry VI in 1470.

On the introduction of the light coinage in 1464 the rose initial-mark was in use, but it lasted only a short time after the indenture of 1465, as ryals with this mark are distinctly rare and the quarter-ryal is only found muled (both ways) with the succeeding initial-mark, the sun. The sun was followed by the crown and this in turn by the long-cross fitchée which was, as Mr. Derek Allen has shown in a paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1937, p. 38, the last mark of Edward IV's first reign.

If the indenture of 1465 was acted on as regards the angels, one would expect to find the rose initial-mark on the earliest varieties, corresponding to the early ryals. In point of fact, specimens with this mark exist, and there can be little doubt that they were the earliest struck. As this conclusion differs

from that of certain previous writers, it will be necessary to set out the reasons for this attribution.

Edward IV issued two distinct types of angels. On the first (**Pl. figs. 3-5**), the figure of the archangel falls inside the inner circle and the only part of the design that pierces the inscription is the cross-shaped head of the spear. The legend, consequently, instead of beginning at the top of the coin begins from the spear-head, a point considerably to the left. On the reverse, the cross standing in the ship above the royal arms is surmounted by the sun's rays pointing downwards from the inner circle. On either side of the lower limb of the cross is a sun and a rose. As will be seen later, the size and position of both sun and rose vary.

The later type of angel is smaller in size and shows the archangel's head piercing the inner circle. The legend starts to the right of the head, that is, approximately at the top of the coin. On the reverse an Θ is found to the left of the cross in the centre of the coin and a small rose to the right. The mast is capped by a top-castle in place of the sun's rays. The two types are readily distinguishable and specimens of the earlier are of great rarity.

The earliest angels of the second type have the short cross-fitchée as initial-mark and must therefore be ascribed to Edward IV's restoration. The coins with which we are concerned are the earlier ones and belong to his first reign. The following varieties are known:

Class I. I.M. Small rose, on reverse only. Large rose to left, medium sized sun to right of cross on reverse. Two small trefoils in field outside ropes of mast.

EDWARD : DI : GRN : REX : ANGL : S : FRANC : DNS :
HIBERNI. Saltire stops.

PER CRUCE TVN : STLVN : NOS : XPISTE : REDEPTOR
Trefoil stops. Lord Ellesmere's Coll. Wt. 77 gr.

(**Pl. fig. 3.**)

Class II. Type as last, but large sun to right of cross on reverse.

EDWARD : DI : GRN : REX : ANGL : S : FRANC : DNS :
I. B'. Trefoil stops.

PER CRUCE TVN : STLVN : NOS : XPC : RE : DEMPTOR.
Trefoil stops. British Museum. (**Pl. fig. 4.**)

Class III. I.M. Crown on reverse only. Small sun to left, small rose to right of cross on reverse. No trefoils in the field on reverse.

* EDWARD * DI * GR * REX * ANGL * S * ERANO * DNS *
I * B * Saltire stops.

PER * ARVDEM * TVM * SALVT * NOS * XPI REDEMP-
TOR. Trefoil stops. British Museum. (Pl. fig. 5.)

Doubt has been expressed by previous writers as to whether the rose and the crown in the legend can properly be regarded as initial-marks, and it has been suggested that the one was a stop and the other a part of the design. This is hard to reconcile with the fact that both marks are found at this time as initial-marks on coins of other denominations and that their position in the legend is the proper one for the initial-mark. Moreover, if they are not regarded as such, the angels in question have no initial-mark, a feature which is not found on any other denomination.

Mr. Walters¹ places classes II and III in the reverse order and regards class III as contemporary with the long cross-fitchée I.M. Class I was not known to him and, had it been, it is likely he would have modified his view, as it bears all the marks of being the earliest issue and the I.M. rose and other features make it impossible to separate it from class II. My reasons for regarding class I as the earliest are based (a) on the legend, and (b) on the style. It will be noticed that both on the obverse and reverse the legend is more complete than that found on later issues, notably in the reading *HIBERNI* and *XPISTÆ*. The result is that the legend is overcrowded, and it is apparent that this was appreciated at the time for a shorter form is found on the next issue (class II).

A comparison of the three obverse dies (Pl. figs. 3-5) will show that the drawing of the archangel and dragon in class I is not altogether satisfactory. The almost straight lines at the top of the wings and the emaciated arms give an effect of feebleness and the dragon's tail is completely lifeless. In classes II and III the dragon has developed strength in its tail and ferocity in its head and the archangel, by having his wings more shaped, has an appearance of greater power. The arms holding the spear are also better

¹ *Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV, vol. ix.

expressed to give the impression of force. The reverses bear out the same conclusion. On class I the sun in the field is approximately the same size as the rose. This appears to have been thought disproportionate, for on class II a larger sun is struck over the smaller one, traces of which can be seen showing through. This resulted in the coin having an overcrowded appearance, which was corrected on class III by the simple expedient of reducing the size of both emblems, and the sun now becomes smaller even than on Class I. The position of the sun and rose is reversed, and the latter is now the same size as on the angels of Edward IV's second reign. Simplification of the design is carried further by the omission of the two trefoils in the field outside the ropes.

Small improvements in the design, such as these, do not necessarily indicate the sequence of a series of coins that has been in issue for a number of years, since types tend to become stereotyped. But in an experimental coinage, such as this early issue appears to have been, it is a sure guide.

I think therefore we are justified in placing the three types of angel in the above order. If this is done it becomes apparent that the issue began on the making of the indenture in 1465 and was continued for some years on a very small scale. Mr. Allen¹ suggests that the issue of angels in quantity by Henry VI, on his restoration, indicates a return to the old order of things where the standard gold coin had had a value of 6s. 8d. This argument appears likely and would in itself suggest that the issue of angels by Edward IV had been discontinued by this time.

In conclusion I wish to express my thanks to Mr. Derek Allen of the British Museum for his kindness in reading this paper in proof and for the many valuable suggestions which he has made for its improvement.

¹ *Num. Chron.*, Ser. V, vol. xvii, p. 34.

THE COINAGE OF EDWARD V

By F. O. ARNOLD, M.A., M.D.

Editorial Note

[As has occasionally happened in the past, two members of the Society have been studying independently the same series of coins and have arrived at conclusions which they wished to lay before the Society. The two following papers are the result of these researches, and it will be seen that in certain respects the conclusions reached differ materially. By mutual consent, the papers are published together in order that members may have available the results of these two independent investigations and may be able to form their own opinions on the points at issue.]

EDWARD V, as every one knows, reigned, or perhaps one should say occupied the throne, for a shorter period than any other English king since the Norman Conquest.

His reign began on the death of his father, Edward IV, on 9 April 1483. He was then about twelve years old, but his uncle Richard, Duke of Gloucester, subsequently Richard III, on 4 May 1483 assumed, euphemistically speaking, "the protectorship of the realm", and, some fifteen days later (though some authorities say on the very same day) sent Edward V to the Tower and, some four weeks later, sent Edward's younger brother Richard, Duke of York, to the Tower also.

On or about 26 June 1483 Richard deposed his nephew and made himself king in name as well as in fact, on the specious ground that Edward IV's marriage was invalid.

Thus Edward V's reign only lasted some eleven weeks.

These dates, i.e. 9 April to 26 June, are given by Sir Charles Oman, the eminent Oxford historian, in two or three places in his book *The Coinage of England*, and also by Kenyon in his book *The Gold Coins of England*, but Bishop Stubbs gives 25 June as the date when Edward V was deposed. Mr. H. Montagu, in a paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle* in 1895, wrote as follows: "that the coins of Edward V are of considerable rarity is hardly remarkable, seeing that his reign extended only from the 9th day of April to the 26th day of June (or, according to the Red Book of the Exchequer, 22nd June 1483)." This is not, perhaps, the time or place exhaustively to discuss the precise date, place, or mode of Edward V's death. His actual reign and coinage

are all that we are properly concerned with, but, in passing, it may be mentioned that the subject of Edward V's death has recently been somewhat prominently brought to public attention. The urn containing his remains and those of his younger brother Richard, Duke of York, which is in Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey was opened in July 1933 and afforded proof, in the opinion of experts, that he was only about twelve years old at the time of his death, thus disproving, if the experts are right, one theory which has been advanced, namely, that Henry VII ordered the murder of the former boy-king in 1485 upon his, Henry VII's, accession to the throne, or soon afterwards, Edward having been, according to this theory, kept a prisoner throughout Richard's reign.

Edward V and his brother are, by most authorities, considered to have been murdered by smothering in the Tower in August 1483, and in December 1933 a descendant of Sir Robert Brackenbury, the Keeper of the Tower in August 1483, wrote a very interesting and detailed letter to *The Times* in which he claimed to establish his own ancestor's and Richard III's joint and combined guilt in respect of the deed, though tradition associates the name of Sir James Tyrrell with its commission, he having been given the keys of the Tower for one night, so it is averred, and having hired two assassins called Miles Forest and John Dighton.

Naturally, after a lapse of about four and a half centuries there is some divergence of opinion regarding the coinage struck during the eleven weeks of Edward V's reign, especially as he immediately succeeded Edward IV and at that time the practice of placing numerals on coins after a king's name had not commenced, except for a brief temporary spell during Henry III's reign.

There is the original extreme view advanced by Hawkins in 1841. The late Mr. Hawkins, in the first edition of his *Silver Coins of England* (1841), wrote as follows:

“Short as was the reign of this young king, coins are said to have been issued in his name and by his authority; none, however, known to have been his have come down to us; and it is more probable that none were ever struck, or if they were, that they were struck from dies of his father's coins.”

After quoting the foregoing paragraph Mr. Montagu wrote as follows:—

“Acting upon this impression the author attributes the mint-mark boar’s head to the reign of Edward IV, but subsequently (p. 278) modified his opinion, and suggested the probability of its being attributable to the reign of Edward V.”

Hawkins’s grandson, Mr. R. L. Kenyon, in his well-known book *Gold Coins of England*, written in 1884, supports this last-mentioned view that the boar’s head on a coin with the name of Edward marks the coin out as belonging to the reign of Edward V and not of Edward IV, but he is not prepared to attribute any Edward coin with only the combined rose and sun mint-mark on it to Edward V.

As every coin collector knows, Edward IV’s distinctive coin marks and cognizances were the white York rose and the sun. He adopted the latter sign because, so it was said, three suns appeared in the heavens simultaneously on the morning of his first victory in battle, namely, that of Mortimer’s Cross, in 1461.

Consequently, there would appear to be nothing unnatural, in fact, quite the reverse, in his adopting or his mint-master adopting for him, a conjoined, united, combined, halved, or dimidiated rose and sun (all these five separate terms are used but signify the same thing) as a late armorial or mint-mark variety towards the close of his reign, if, in fact, he did, though, as I will attempt to show, I think that the better opinion is that he did not do so.

Edward IV’s mint-master was William, Baron Hastings, and he was also mint-master for Edward V until 13 June 1483, when Richard III ordered him to be beheaded, though possibly he was not formally appointed Edward V’s mint-master at the very beginning of Edward V’s reign. Reference will be made to him again later. Kenyon refers to him as Sir William Hastings, but he had been created a baron early in Edward IV’s reign.

Kenyon, in support of the view that only coins with the boar’s head mint-mark and bearing Edward’s name can be regarded as genuinely Edward V coins, observes as follows. (This passage calls for somewhat close attention in order that its significance may be realized.)

"All those coins which have the rose and sun mint-mark [he obviously means the rose and sun united] are sometimes attributed to Edward V, but the rose and sun was the well-known cognizance of Edward IV and is therefore as likely as the boar's head is unlikely to have been placed on his own coins; and . . . it is very improbable that more than one new mint-mark can have been authorised for the coinage during the very short reign of Edward V."

It is true that the boar, but not, however, the boar's head, was a badge of Edward III, and that Edward IV and Richard III were his great-great-grandsons—both being great-grandsons of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, a younger brother of John of Gaunt, and sons of Richard Duke of York, a grandson of the said Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, son of Edward III. But there would appear to be strong reason to believe that this badge of cognizance descended in modified form to Richard, the younger son.

Sir Henry Ellis, in 1813, discovered in the Bodleian Library a memorandum recording the fact that Richard, Duke of York, father of Edward IV and Richard III, had inherited the badge of a blue boar from his ancestor Edward III.

Sir Henry Ellis, after most exhaustive research, never discovered a single instance of the use of a boar as a badge by Edward IV, nor did Sir Charles Young, Garter King at Arms, ever come across an instance (see Montagu's before-mentioned article at p. 120). Montagu in the course of this article also writes as follows:

"It seems, however, that Richard III's boar was a white boar, and not a blue boar. In the illuminated roll of the Earls of Warwick, according to Sainthill (*Olla Podrida*, vol. ii, p. 214), quoting from Turner's *History of England*, there is a representation of Richard (in consequence of his intermarriage with the family), who is depicted standing on a white boar. . . .

"Acknowledging, then, that all coins with mint-mark boar's head must have belonged to the reigns of Edward V and Richard III only, how is it that, with a solitary doubtful exception, the only mint-mark which appears in conjunction with it is that of the rose and sun combined?"

To this very significant point I think one might also very

cogently add the importance and significance of the occasional conjunction of another undoubted Richard mark, though not an actual mint-mark or initial-mark, namely, the pellet under the bust. (See list of Edward V coins at the end of this paper.)

Montagu proceeds:

"The contention of Mr. Kenyon is that this last-mentioned mint-mark, the rose and sun united, distinguished the last coinage of Edward IV; but this is only a surmise on his part and just one of those surmises which are open to the greatest suspicion, inasmuch as it has been invented for the express purpose of defeating the attribution of the rose and sun coins to the subsequent reign. I quite admit that there was a possibility, though not a probability, of the rose and sun being a mint-mark of Edward IV; but, on the other hand, it is an absolute certainty that it was in use in the reigns of Edward V and Richard III, seeing that it is found in conjunction with coins bearing the mint-mark boar's head during both these reigns.

"In mediæval times it frequently occurred that an obverse or reverse die of the last coinage of one monarch was, at first, used, either inadvertently or under pressure of circumstances, on the earliest coinage of his successor; but this does not at all account for the very important fact that on the coinage of both Edward V and Richard III the moneyers were constantly ringing the changes, so to speak, with the two mint-marks mentioned, and with those two only. It is in favour of the exclusion of the mint-mark rose and sun from the list of mint-marks of Edward IV that it occurs *more* commonly on the coins of Richard III than even the more characteristic mint-mark boar's head.

"It has been considered certain, by those numismatists who have studied the subject of the series of angels and groats of Edward IV, that the cinquefoil mint-mark was the last one used in connexion with their coinage. The similarity of the pieces bearing that mint-mark and those bearing the mint-mark sun and rose, particularly in the case of the angels, proves that the latter immediately succeeded the former. It is almost as improbable that Richard III, throughout both his protectorate and his

reign, should have adopted a well-known, because latest-known, badge of his brother, as that his brother should have previously adopted Richard's well-known badge of the boar's head. Surely, the fact that both gold and silver coins of Richard occur throughout his reign with the mint-mark rose and sun on both obverse and reverse (and more commonly, as before stated, than the mint-mark boar's head) should tend to show that the adoption of that mint-mark was due to neither inadvertence nor pressure of circumstances, but clearly to premeditated design.

"It may have been considered that, inasmuch as Edward IV had adopted the sun and rose separately, his son might fairly use those two mint-marks combined, or, to use heraldic language, dimidiated; and, of course, the same argument may apply to its adoption by Edward IV's brother Richard. . . .

"What the well-known collectors of English coins in the past times thought on the subject may not constitute the strongest argument in favour of my contention, but their opinion is entitled to respect, and it is a fact that my attribution of the mint-mark rose and sun to Edward V has been previously acceded to by Sainthill, Cuff, Bergne, Murchison, Brice, and many others, including the late Mr. J. F. Neck."

Grueber, in his well-known book on coins of Great Britain, writes as follows:

"The coins of Edward V which are limited to 3 denominations [this is, of course, wrong, as will be seen later], 2 in gold and 1 in silver, are precisely similar to those of his father, and can only be identified by their mint-marks, a rose and a sun united or a boar's head. The former was the well-known cognisance of Edward IV (see the rose noble) and the boar's head the badge of the Protector, Richard III. The weight and fineness were the same as Edward IV's coinage. A variety has the mint-mark, rose and sun united, on both sides. These coins are very rare. No half-angels of Edward V are known with the boar's head mint-mark. All the gold coins were struck at the Tower.

"Groats were struck in London only.

"Varieties have for mint-marks the rose and sun united,

or the boar's head only on both sides; and a further variety of each of these issues has a pellet under the king's bust."

Thus we observe, at the outset, that whereas there may exist groats with the boar's head on obverse and reverse,¹ there are no angels with the boar's head on both sides, and no half-angels with a boar's head on at all.

The late Dr. Brooke, in his book *English Coins*, simply writes as follows (though he later on refers in his classifications to the existence of at any rate one specimen of a fourth denomination of Edward V coins, thus differing from Grueber and Oman, namely, to a halfpenny with the halved or dimidiated or combined rose and sun mint-mark referred to before):

"The attribution of coins to the short reign of Edward V is based upon the use of the boar's head as initial mark and its close connexion, on coins of Edward and of Richard, with the halved sun and rose. Not only was the boar's head the personal badge of Richard III but it is commonly used on the coins bearing his name; its use, more rare, on coins with the name of Edward is coupled with the halved sun and rose on the other side of the coin, a combination also frequent on the coinage of Richard. There is little doubt that the use of the boar's head on the coin was originally ordered by Richard as regent, and probably the coins with halved sun and rose that bear the name of Edward must also be assigned to the reign of the unfortunate boy-king."

Professor Sir Charles Oman takes a very interesting view. He attributes all the angels, half-angels, and groats with the united rose and sun mint-mark on both sides to the brief period of approximately one month which elapsed between 9 April—the date of Edward V's accession to the throne—and the early part of May, when Richard made himself protector, or to a date shortly thereafter. He says:

"It is quite surprising that there are any coins of Edward V struck in his first month, while the Queen Dowager and the Lords of the Council were in control at London, before Gloucester carried out his coup d'état. Probably the faction which dreaded Richard's ambition

¹ But see page 211, where the existence of this coin is questioned.

was desirous of having money at its disposal, and hurried on the engraving of new dies, in order to show the name and title of the boy-king to the nation, by way of propaganda.

"At any rate, there exist very rare angels, half angels, and groats with the rose and sun mint-mark on both sides which can only be ascribed to this month.

"But, when Richard of Gloucester had once assumed control, he immediately inserted his own boar's head on the coin of the realm: we may be sure that he would never have allowed pieces without that badge to appear. . . . After he had seized on the protectorship, Richard of Gloucester concluded an Indenture with Lord Hastings for a complete new coinage of all denominations on May 20.

"He beheaded that unfortunate peer without trial, after a scandalous scene in the Tower on June 13. This Indenture is referred to by Kenyon also, but he declares that the Indenture was never actually executed. Kenyon, however, quotes Ross of Warwick to show that a separate coinage of Edward V did exist.

"It is possible that in the intervening twenty-four days, i.e. from May 20-June 13, dies may have been cut and the coins actually issued, as all the change to be made consisted in the substitution of the boar's head for the rose and sun as the obverse mint-mark. After June 28 [why Oman should at this point say June 28 instead of his own previously mentioned date of June 26, which is also Kenyon's date for the end of Edward V's reign, I cannot surmise, unless it is a slip or misprint] when Richard seized the crown, he must no doubt have given orders for the cessation of all coinage in his nephew's name. It is quite conceivable, however, that the insertion of the boar's head on the coinage may have come before the Indenture with Hastings, and have started quite early in May, for it seems reasonable to ask for every possible day of issue in order to account for the not inconsiderable amount of groats bearing the name of Edward V, but the mint-mark of his unscrupulous uncle, which are known to exist.

"The groats with boar's head mint-mark on the obverse, scarce as they are, are not all from the same set of dies. Two varieties of them are known; that which has the protector's badge as mint-mark on obverse, and the young

king's rose and sun on the reverse, is the more common. Presumably, the scarcer variety with boar's head on both sides¹ belongs to the very last days of the protectorate of Gloucester. There are no half-groats, pence, or halfpence known."

In regard to Sir Charles Oman's last-quoted statement, he is mistaken in saying that there are no Edward V halfpence "known", although Grueber, as quoted above, makes or implies the same statement in his book on British Museum coins published in 1899.

At least six such coins are known to be in existence.

The first, which I have traced, was purchased by the British Museum at Mr. Walters's sale of 1913. Another was exchanged by him for another coin with Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton, who sold it as lot 137 in his sale of October 1921, and nine years later—namely, in March 1930—it was sold at the Wheeler sale. I bought it myself from Spink & Son, Ltd., in November 1934.

A third—which has a hole in it through corrosion and only weighs 3.3 grains—was sold at the second Walters sale in October 1932 and was purchased by a London public museum or collection of whose name and whereabouts I am unaware. It has a clearly-defined rose and sun mint-mark.

A fourth is in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

The fifth, which I have traced, formerly belonged to Mr. Shirley Fox, from whom I acquired it recently.

A sixth specimen was left to the British Museum by the late F. W. Hasluck.

The British Museum possesses a half-groat which is sometimes attributed to Edward V, but the alleged rose and sun mint-mark is so indistinct that the late Dr. Brooke told me shortly before his lamented death that he doubted the validity of the assignment of this coin to Edward V's reign. I think that he considered that it was more probably an Edward IV coin.

In regard to Sir Charles Oman's assertion, above quoted, that "when Richard of Gloucester had once assumed control, he immediately inserted his own boar's head on the coin of the realm: we may be sure that he would never have allowed pieces without that badge to appear" . . . the last statement

¹ See page 211.

is quite definitely contrary to the actual facts as evidenced by coins now in existence.

Thus, in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge there are three specimens of Richard III angels and each one of them has the combined rose and sun mint-mark both on the obverse and the reverse.

Then again, as quoted previously, Montagu, in his paper written in 1895, states that throughout the reign of Richard III the combined rose and sun mint-mark occurs on both obverse and reverse, and, in fact, is found in Richard's reign "more commonly . . . than the m.m. boar's head". This last-quoted statement Montagu also makes in an earlier portion of his paper.

Unfortunately, no help in regard to this matter is forthcoming from an examination of the nobles or ryals of Edward IV, since none were minted subsequently to his restoration to the throne in April 1471 after his victories at the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury—and, of course, there were none minted during the reigns of Edward V or Richard III.

There are, however, a few exceedingly interesting angels and groats in existence, with the combined rose and sun mint-mark upon them, on which the name Edward has had over-struck upon it the name Richard. It is submitted that these coins afford strong suggestive evidence of a separate coinage of Edward V the mint-mark on which was the combined rose and sun.

An exceedingly important and relevant discovery was made some years ago by the late Mr. H. B. Earle-Fox, who found a mint account at the Record Office covering the fifteenth century which showed that in Edward V's reign 50 pounds in gold coins and 434 pounds in silver coins were minted.

In conclusion, it may be of some interest to tabulate the various types of Edward V coins at present in existence, according to the attributions set out in this paper, as held and supported by experts much greater than I can claim to be, whose names I have already mentioned:

- (1) Angel, m.m. obverse boar's head, reverse rose and sun.
- (2) Angel, m.m. rose and sun on both sides.
- (3) Half-angel, m.m. rose and sun on both sides.
- (4) Groat, m.m. obverse boar's head, reverse rose and sun.

- (5) Groat, m.m. obverse boar's head, reverse rose and sun with pellet under the bust.
- (6) Groat, m.m. rose and sun on both sides.
- (7) Groat, m.m. rose and sun on both sides, with pellet under the bust.
- (8) Halfpenny, m.m. rose and sun on obverse only.

In his paper, above quoted, written in 1895, Montagu mentions two additional types of groats, namely, one with the boar's head mint-mark on both sides and no pellet under the bust, and another type with the boar's head mint-mark on both sides and with a pellet under the bust.

In regard to these two last-mentioned types, I can only say that I, personally, have never seen an Edward groat with the boar's head on both sides, and I know of no one else who ever has done so. I do not say that no such coin was ever seen by Montagu, but I do say that there is none in the British Museum or any other collection that I know of, and that neither Grueber nor Dr. Brooke refers to or describes any actual specimen of such a coin, though Grueber and Oman include them in their classifications. Mr. Shirley-Fox has told me that he has never seen a coin with the name of Edward which has the boar's head on the reverse.

The last type enumerated above, namely, the Edward V halfpenny, was not included or mentioned by Montagu in the list which he set out at the end of his paper written in 1895. As previously stated, it was not mentioned by Grueber in his book published in 1899. Presumably, neither of these numismatists had seen or heard of it, and even Sir Charles Oman does not refer to it in his recently published book. But at the Walters sale in 1913 one specimen became known to the world and was, as I have said, acquired by the British Museum.

My own specimens, previously mentioned, are virtually identical with a Richard III halfpenny now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, except that they have Edward's name instead of Richard's.



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COINS OF EDWARD IV, EDWARD V AND RICHARD III

THE COINAGE OF EDWARD V WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE LATER ISSUES OF EDWARD IV

By CHRISTOPHER BLUNT, F.S.A.

EDWARD V's short reign lasted only two and a half months, yet it has long been thought that coins were struck during that period. Ruding considers it probable, but is unable to identify any. Hawkins attributes the coins with initial-mark boar's head to Edward V, on the grounds that this was a recognized badge of the Protector, Richard III, while later writers have added the initial-mark sun and rose dimidiated, on the grounds that it was used in the next two reigns. And as matters now stand, coins with both initial-marks are considered to have been struck during this short period.

The object of this paper is twofold: in the first place to examine the claims of these initial-marks in the light of Mr. Lawrence's researches on the privy-mark system,¹ and of the mint accounts, which have been published since the last paper on the subject was written;² in the second place to put on record one or two hitherto unknown varieties.

We must begin by considering some dates and figures. Edward V succeeded his father on the 9th of April 1483, and reigned till the 26th of June, when Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was proclaimed king. The mint accounts of this year, 1483, are subdivided into most unusual periods, February to April, May and June, and July to September. It was not the usual practice in medieval times to rule off the mint accounts on the death of a king, but it is difficult to resist the conclusion that it was done at this period; not only is there a break made between April and May, immediately after Edward IV's death, but a break is again made between June and July, immediately after Edward V's deposition. Moreover, the accounts are similarly ruled off on 22 August 1485, the exact date of the Battle of Bosworth, at which Richard III was killed.

¹ It must be understood that I am drawing conclusions from Mr. Lawrence's researches with which he is often not in agreement.

² *Num. Chron.*, 5th series, vol. ix, pp. 35 and 58.

In view of this we are, I consider, justified in regarding as the coinage of Edward V the amounts recorded as being issued in May and June 1483. These amounts are 434 pounds by weight of silver and 49 pounds by weight of gold. Some idea of how small the issue was can be obtained by comparing it with the average annual output since Edward IV's restoration, namely, 6,800 pounds of silver and 1,750 pounds of gold.

Any coins, then, that we ascribe to Edward V, must be doubly rare, in the first place because of the shortness of the reign, in the second place because the issues fell far below the average even for such a short period.

The indentures under which coins of this year were struck are peculiar. One was made with Lord Hastings on 20 May 1483; on 13 June, however, he was executed, and a note in the accounts shows that the coinage recorded for May and June was not struck under the indenture with "the late Lord Hastings", but by mandate of the Lord Treasurer.¹

To ascribe coins then to the reign of Edward V, it is necessary to identify those which were struck during May and June by order of the Lord Treasurer. Here Mr. Lawrence's researches into the privy-mark system come to our help. He has shown that an arrangement existed whereby a secret mark was put on the coins and was altered every three months, so that the coins of each three-monthly period could be identified at the trials of the pyx. Mr. Lawrence has been primarily concerned so far with the reign of Edward III, but we find that the same system was still in force in the fifteenth century, and it is set out in some detail in an indenture of 1477:

"The master shall make a privy mark on all moneys made by him, and before issue 10^s value in every 10 pounds of gold and 2^s value in every 100 pounds of silver shall be put in a box sealed with the seals of the warden, master and comptroller, and shut with three keys of which they each shall have one, and the said box shall be opened every three months upon reasonable warning before certain lords of the Council and assay made by fire and touch in the presence of the warden, master and comptroller."²

The privy-mark to which the indenture refers took

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 5th series, vol. ix, p. 58.

² *Patent Rolls*, Edward IV.

various forms. The easiest way of altering the privy-mark was to put a new initial-mark on the coins. This fashion, which was adopted later, did not for some reason appeal to the moneyers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and we find them at this time adopting a variety of ingenious devices to provide the requisite number of privy-marks. For instance, in Edward III's reign, when the system appears first to have come into force, on the silver halfpennies of the "Florin" type various symbols are found in one of the four quarters of the reverse; a pellet or a saltire is sometimes inserted in the usual design. By altering the position of this added symbol from one quarter to another, the four marks required for a full year could be obtained. Subsequently even more ingenuity was shown; small fractures in the letters served to distinguish the coins struck in one quarter from those struck in the next. However, from the reign of Edward IV onwards the chief privy-marks were provided by altering the initial-mark.

Die economy is a feature of all medieval coinages, and it will be readily understood that dies in good condition at the end of one quarterly period were not necessarily discarded; where practicable, they were altered for use in the next quarter by the addition of the new privy-mark. That this was done in the case of Edward IV or V is clear from two groats in the British Museum to which Mr. Derek Allen has very kindly called my attention. These coins, which are illustrated (**Pl. fig. 7 and 8**), are both from the same obverse die. The earlier, however, has the initial-mark sun and rose dimidiated, the later, the boar's head. There is no trace on the second coin of the sun and rose since it has been completely obliterated by the later and larger mark, the boar's head. A careful study of dies may easily reveal other cases of alteration hitherto unsuspected.¹ The relationship of these two coins is important, because it proves two things. In the first place it establishes the order of the two initial-marks, which had already been deduced on other grounds, although inconclusively, since both marks occur on the coins of the next reign. In the second place it proves that the boar's

¹ A case in point is provided by two angels. The earlier, in the Rashleigh Sale (lot 742, illustrated in the catalogue), has the initial-mark sun and rose on the obverse, the later, the coin in the British Museum (**Pl. fig. 2**), has the boar's head. These appear to be from the same obverse die, although, as in the case of the groats, no trace of the sun and rose is visible on the later coin.

head supplanted and not merely succeeded the sun and rose on the obverse as a privy-mark. Had this not been the case, there would have been no necessity to alter an already existing die.

In the period under discussion we find one series of coins bearing the name of Edward with the rose and sun dimidiated on both sides and a further series with the boar's head on the obverse and the rose and sun on the reverse. At the present time the two series are regarded as constituting the coinage of Edward V. If this is the case, it means that two distinct privy-marks were in use in the same quarter of the year, for the entire output of Edward V's reign must be contained within one three-monthly period. From the experience gained in the study of other issues, this seems extremely unlikely, and, if so, one or other series must belong to the previous reign.

As I have said, the existence of the groat in the British Museum with the boar's head struck over the sun and rose¹ proves satisfactorily the sequence of the initial-marks. One would therefore expect the earlier mark, the rose and sun, to belong to Edward IV. Nevertheless, it may be as well to consider the reasons adduced in the past for attributing both marks to Edward V. Both appear at first glance to have good claims to be regarded as the privy-mark of Edward V. Let us examine these claims in detail.

The sun and rose is found also on coins of Richard III and on a few early coins of Henry VII. Among the latter is a remarkable half-angel (formerly in the Murdoch collection) which has the name *HENRIC* struck over *RICHARD* on the obverse. The reverse die originally had an *Æ* for Edward, but an *R* has been struck over it. Reference will be made to this coin later.

Two other interesting mules are the angels in the British Museum (*Pl. figs. 3 and 4*) which have on the obverse the name of Edward, and on the reverse an *R* struck over the *Æ*. In one case the initial-mark on both sides is a rose and sun; in the other the obverse mark is a boar's head and the reverse rose and sun.

The boar's head is also found on Richard III's coins, though not on Henry VII's. There are also angels with

¹ It will be understood that in this paper reference to the initial-mark sun and rose refers to the dimidiated or united form of that mark.

this mark which have Richard's name stamped over Edward's and have an R over an E on the reverse. Both marks therefore belong to the period immediately before the reign of Richard III. Their correct attribution can, however, only be decided when we consider their significance. The sun and the rose were both badges intimately connected with Edward IV; they appear together on such coins as the rose-noble and its parts, in addition to being used separately as initial-marks. Nevertheless, as Mr. Montagu has pointed out, they are not known to have been used in this dimidiated form as a badge of Edward IV. From this fact, Mr. Montagu, writing in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1895, makes certain deductions, which are sufficiently curious to justify quoting them verbatim.

"It seems to me", he writes, "that seeing that the rose and the sun were both favourite badges of Edward IV, occurring, as they do, in all shapes and forms on the various coinages of his reign, both sometimes on the same coin, such as the quarter-noble and the early pattern of the angel, it was only natural and somewhat ingenious on the part of his advisers, that an entirely new device, in the nature of a combination of these two, should have been invented and adopted by the young king, Edward V, and equally improbable that such combinations should, in the circumstances, have been previously adopted by his father."

Mr. Montagu's contention appears to be that, because Edward IV used the sun and rose frequently on his coins as separate emblems, he was unlikely to have used them in a joint form, but that his son would probably have done so. I find this hard to follow, and in the absence of further evidence it appears at least as likely that Edward IV would have used the joint mark as Edward V.

Turning to the boar's head, we find that it is a mark that had not hitherto made its appearance on the coins, although the boar was, I believe, one of the minor badges of Edward III. It was, however, a badge definitely and closely associated at that time with Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Mr. Montagu brings conclusive evidence on this point. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was Protector at this time. He had arrived in London on the 5th of May, and there can be no doubt that

the mark appearing on the coins associates them with his protectorship. In other words, the boar's head coins must be ascribed to Edward V, and, if our interpretation of the privy-mark system is correct, then the sun and rose coins must be ascribed to Edward IV.

If this arrangement is accepted, it will be necessary to consider the difficulties raised by the claim of the sun and rose to be Edward V's privy-mark. In the first place, there is the fact that the mark occurs on coins of the next two reigns. This difficulty is not so considerable when we remember that one of the reigns was only two and a half months and the other two years. Die survival, in such circumstances and with our knowledge of the amounts coined, cannot be wondered at. The longest case of die survival in this particular series, is that of the half-angel, already referred to, struck from a reverse die with the sun and rose dimidiated as initial-mark, which must have been made at the end of Edward IV's reign. The die was then available for Edward V and was certainly used by Richard III, who stamped an R over the E in the centre of the reverse; later still it was used by Henry VII at the beginning of his reign, in conjunction with an obverse die, on which Henry's name had been struck over that of Richard. Probably, the total life of this die was no more than three or four years, which, as I have shown elsewhere,¹ is by no means exceptionally long, when, as in this case, such an extremely small quantity of coins of this denomination was being struck.

About the coins which read EDWARD on the obverse and which have an R (for Richard) on the reverse, there is a certain difference of opinion. They have been considered by some authorities to be coins of Edward V, struck under Richard's orders. It is assumed that Richard was in such a dominating position, and was so ambitious, that he had his own initial put on the reverse. That his position was dominating there can be little doubt, but his role was that of a protector, acting in the name of the young king, and I am not inclined to regard these coins as struck in Edward V's reign. They seem, rather, to be early coins of Richard's struck before the obverse dies were altered. This would be in accordance with the ordinary practice in medieval times.

So far the subject has been dealt with on purely theoretical

¹ *Num. Chron.* International Congress Number.

grounds, without detailed attention to the coins. A study of the dies of the gold actually leads to the same conclusions. I have confined myself to the one metal, only because I have had no opportunity of making the necessary detailed study of the dies for the other; I think, however, we are safe in assuming that what can be proved in the case of one would apply equally to the other.

The mint accounts show that the issues in gold in Edward V's reign amounted to 49 pounds 10 ounces, by weight. If we assume that the whole amount was coined into angels, this is the equivalent of about 3,360 coins. With an output of this size, one could reasonably expect one or perhaps two obverse dies, and anything between one, and at the very most, four, reverse dies, for it must be borne in mind that the life of the reverse dies was usually half that of the obverse. I have examined as many angels as I have been able to trace, which have one or other of the initial-marks under discussion, and I append a list of dies, from which it will be seen that there are no less than five obverse dies, with the initial-mark sun and rose dimidiated, one of which is found in use again with the boar's head struck over the sun and rose. There are in all eight reverse dies, which, I should perhaps mention, invariably have the initial-mark sun and rose dimidiated, for both on the gold and silver the boar's head occurs only on the obverse.

It will be seen that I have not included in these figures the dies from which coins were struck bearing the name of Edward on the obverse coupled with the *R* for Richard on the reverse. So far no true coins of Edward are known from these dies, and although they were undoubtedly made for Edward's use there is at present no evidence that he ever used them.

If, therefore, further proof were required in support of my contention, it is amply provided by the relatively large number of both obverse and reverse dies of sun and rose coins, specimens of which exist to this day. There could not have been so many dies for a coinage as small as that recorded in May and June 1483.

A small peculiarity of the coins of this time must also be mentioned. On both classes of groats that we have been discussing, and also on Richard III groats and half-groats of London and pennies of Durham, a pellet is sometimes

found beneath the king's bust, and sometimes is absent. This is a typical example of the privy-marking system, as we know it. But there are two objections to regarding the pellet as a mark connected with the quarterly trials of the pyx. The first, not an insuperable difficulty, is that it is found on the silver only and not on the gold. The second difficulty, a more serious one, is that the pellet is sometimes found and sometimes not found on a series of coins which were struck from the last years of Edward IV to well into Richard's reign, for Bishop Sherwood of Durham, on whose coins it occurs, only received the temporalities of the see in 1484. Its presence or absence can, then, hardly mark a quarterly period, nor is it easy to regard it as a quarterly privy-mark that survived its original purpose, as its presence is spasmodic throughout the series. Without further evidence, it is not possible to say definitely what is the significance of this pellet, but I am inclined to regard it as a privy-mark, differentiating the coins of one moneyer from those of another, and not as the privy-mark of a particular three-monthly period.

It is now necessary to consider the effect on the rest of Edward IV's coinage which the new attribution of coins with the initial-mark rose and sun dimidiated involves. The coinage of Edward IV's second reign will, I hope, form the subject of a later paper, but it will be sufficient here to say that hitherto the cinquefoil has been regarded as the last mark of Edward IV.

As past experience has proved, the ecclesiastical mints of Durham and York often help in dating the issues of the London mint, and in this case too they have their significance. At York Lawrence Booth was Archbishop from 1476 till his death in May 1480. Coins issued by him have a B and a key beside the king's neck, and have generally the initial-mark rose. I have, however, in my collection, two specimens on which the initial-mark is clearly a cinquefoil, (*Pl. fig. 11*), and as the dies are of regular London work, it seems safe to deduce that this initial-mark was current in London at the date of Archbishop Booth's death, that is, three years before the end of Edward IV's reign.¹ It

¹ On the specimen illustrated, the quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse is not visible, but it is clear on my other specimen and on two in Mr. Lawrence's collection. This, combined with the archbishop's initial on the obverse, shows

is not unreasonable, therefore, to allow for the three years 1480-3, two initial-marks, the cinquefoil followed by the rose and sun.

At the beginning of this paper I said that one of my objects was to place on record certain hitherto unknown varieties, and first among them is a new denomination of the coinage of Edward V, which recently came into my possession, namely a penny, with initial-mark boar's head. It is of the usual type, showing a bust of the king, facing, wearing a crown. The face is still purely formal, and no attempt is made at a portrait. The surrounding legend reads:

EDWARD DEI GRA REX ANG

On the reverse, the type is exactly similar to the pennies of Edward IV, the legend being:

CIVITAS LONDON

Wt. 11 grs. (Pl. fig. 12.)

The initial-mark on this specimen is far from clear, but it will, I think, be generally agreed that it can be nothing other than a boar's head. The outline of the bottom half is distinct, and the curve of the lower jaw can be clearly seen. From its style, the coin might be either late Edward IV or Edward V. If the former the initial-mark would be either a pierced cross, a cross and one or more pellets, a cinquefoil, or a rose and sun dimidiated, and it is quite clearly none of these. The reverse is from a different die to the only known specimen of the Richard III London penny in Lord Grantley's collection (Pl. fig. 13), but can be connected with it by a slight flaw in the right-hand side of the end of the cross, which indicates that the same punches were used for making both dies.

The second coin to which attention should be called is a half-groat (Pl. fig. 9) in the British Museum with the name of Edward which is mentioned in a footnote on p. 160 by the late Dr. Brooke in his *English Coins*. It is not possible to say with certainty whether it is a coin of Edward IV or Edward V as the initial-mark is indistinct. That it is a boar's head is rendered likely by the existence in the British Museum of a half-groat of Richard III struck from the same

that the coins were struck during his lifetime and not by the King's receiver during the vacancy of the see.

reverse die (Pl. fig. 10). An undoubted specimen of the half-groat of Edward V is of course not known.

In conclusion it would be well to summarize the results of this paper by setting out what in my view can be regarded as the true coins of Edward V, but before doing so I should like to express my sincere thanks to Mr. Derek Allen and to Mr. L. A. Lawrence for the assistance and advice that they have given me.

ANGEL.

Obv. I.M. boar's head.

EDWARD : DI : GRÆ : REX * ANGL : S * RRÆNO */*

Rev. I.M. rose and sun dimidiated.

PER CRUCEM TVT STVVT NOS XPO' REDEMPT' *

No stops in legend, but double saltire at the end.
 æ beside cross on reverse. (Pl. fig. 2.) B.M.

HALF-ANGEL.

None known.

GROAT.

All I.M. *obv.* boar's head; *rev.* rose and sun dimidiated.

(1) *Obv.* EDWARD : DI : GRÆ : REX ANGL * S * RRÆNO

No pellet under bust. Chevron-band Æ.

Rev. POSVI DCVM * RDIVTORG : MCVM CIVITAS
 LONDON The letter æ on the reverse appears to
 be a α. (Pl. fig. 8.) B.M.

(2) *Obv.* EDWARD : DI : GRÆ : REX ANGL S RRÆNO

Pellet under bust. Plain unbarred Æ.

Rev. As the last but the letter æ is of the usual form.
Dawney Coll., Sothebys, 1923, lot 51.

HALF-GROAT (doubtfully attributed to Edward V).

Obv. I.M. boar's head (?). EDWARD DI GRÆ REX ANGL
 RRÆ

Rev. No. I.M.

POSVI DEVM RDIVTORE MEVM CIVITAS LONDON
 (Pl. fig. 9.) B.M.

PENNY.

Obv. I.M. boar's head. EDWARD DEI GRÆ REX

Rev. CIVI TKS LON DON

(Pl. fig. 12). C.E. Blunt

HALF-PENNY AND FARTHING.

None known.

The various dies that I have seen for the angels with either initial-mark rose and sun dimidiated both sides, or with boar's head on the obverse, and rose and sun dimidiated on the reverse, are listed below.

ANGELS.

Coins with initial-mark rose and sun both sides.

Obverse dies.

Stops at end of legend

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|------|-------------------|
| 1. | Reading DEI and REX | x* | Dawnay Sale, |
| | | | Sothebys, 1923. |
| 2. | " " | x* | Huth Sale. |
| 3. | Reading DEI and REX | None | Roth Sale, Pt. I. |
| 4. | " " | x* | B.M. |
| 5. | " DI and REX | x* | Rashleigh Sale. |
| 5a. | " " " | x* | B.M. |
- (This coin has R over E on the reverse. There is no evidence that the obverse die was used by Edward, although made for him.)

Reverse dies.

Stops

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. | Reading REXEMPT | None | Dawnay Sale. |
| 2. | " " | " | Huth Sale. |
| 3. | " " | " | Shirley-Fox Coll. |
| 4. | " REXEMPT | None in legend, * at end | Maish Sale. |
| 5. | " REXEMPT | " " | Bruun Sale. |
| 6. | " " | * after REXEMPT, TVT, STLVN and XPO | Roth Sale, Pt. I. |
| 7. | " " | " " | Rashleigh Sale. |
| 8. | " " | " " | B.M. |
| 8a. | " " | " " | B.M. |

(This coin reads R over E. See note above.)

Coins with obverse initial-mark boar's head, reverse rose and sun.

Obverse dies.

Stops at end of legend.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|------|
| 1. | Die 5 (above). Reading DI and REX | x* | B.M. |
| | (Same die as the Rashleigh coin, the initial-mark having been altered.) | | |
| 1a. | Reading DI and REX | x* | B.M. |
- (This coin has R over E on the reverse. See note above.)

*Reverse dies.**Stops*

1. (Die No. 4 above)

B.M.

1a. Reading **REDEMP**

*

B.M.

(This coin has **R** over **Æ**. See note above.)

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE

1. Edward IV Angel. I.M. Obv. and rev. Sun and rose.
2. Edward V Angel. I.M. Obv. Boar's head, rev. Sun and rose.
3. Richard III Angel. I.M. Obv. and rev. Sun and rose. The obverse reads **EDWARD**, the reverse has **R** struck over **Æ**.
4. Richard III Angel. I.M. Obv. Boar's head, rev. Sun and rose. The obverse reads **EDWARD**, the reverse has **R** over **Æ**.
5. Edward IV Half-angel. I.M. Obv. and rev. Sun and rose.
6. Richard III Half-angel. I.M. Obv. and rev. Boar's head.
7. Edward IV Groat. I.M. Obv. and rev. Sun and rose.
8. Edward V Groat. I.M. Obv. Boar's head struck over Sun and rose (the same obverse die as 7), rev. Sun and rose.
9. Edward V (?) Half-groat. I.M. Obv. only, Boar's head (?).
10. Richard III Half-groat. I.M. Obv. only, Sun and rose. Reverse, same die as 9.
11. Edward IV York penny of Archbishop Booth. I.M. Cinquefoil. **B** and key by bust, quatrefoil in centre of reverse.
12. Edward V Penny. I.M. Boar's head.
13. Richard III Penny. I.M. Boar's head.
14. Edward IV Halfpenny. I.M. Sun and rose.

A REPLY TO THE PRECEDING PAPER

The following note by Mr. L. A. Lawrence was read in reply to Mr. Blunt's paper:

"Through the kindness of Mr. Blunt, I have been able to read his paper and think over its problems. In times gone by the coins reading Edward with the sun and rose mark were placed to Edward IV. As late as 1887 Hawkins describes them as such, but adds a note to the effect that they are sometimes described as of Edward V. Kenyon, for the gold, follows Hawkins's lead. Coins of both gold and silver with the boar's head are attributed by both authors to Edward V. It was following Montagu's paper, quoted by Mr. Blunt, that the sun and rose mark became identified with Edward V. Presumably the boar's head was never used by Edward IV; Richard III, the 'bloody and usurping boar', certainly did use it, and doubtless by his orders it occurs on coins reading *Edward* which are rightly, I think, attributed to Edward V. The point about these coins of Edward is that the boar's head is always on the obverse with a sun and rose on the reverse. If there is anything in the old idea that on a muled coin the reverse is usually later than the obverse, then the sun and rose mark ought to be later than the boar's head. Of course one knows of 'two-way mules', in which case the rule would not apply; but there are no two-way mules in the coins of Edward V: so that as far as that goes, the sun and rose ought to represent Edward V on the coins. Of course the protector Richard had his own way down to the murder, we suppose, of his nephew. He put his own marks on the young king's coins as well as on his own coins as king. If Mr. Blunt's return to the old order be accepted, we get Edward IV sun and rose, Edward V boar's head, Richard III both marks, Henry VII sun and rose. This places the boar's head between two sets of the sun and rose, which for this queer mark does not appear natural. Again, Richard alters an angel of Edward by adding R on the reverse—this angel has a sun and rose both sides. Did he go back to Edward IV for this altered die? I don't think so."

L. A. LAWRENCE.

NOTES ON THE MINTS OF TRURO AND EXETER UNDER CHARLES I

By R. C. LOCKETT, F.S.A.

THE subject of this paper is the coinage struck at Truro in Cornwall and Exeter in Devon by order of Charles I during the Civil War. Before I describe the coins themselves, I should like to make a few preliminary remarks.

The coins known to have been struck at Exeter are closely linked in style with a large series of half-crowns and shillings and a few coins of smaller denominations which Hawkins includes amongst his "uncertain" mints; it is, however, generally agreed that they were struck in south-west England. Of the various mints in this part of the country, those of Coombe Martin and Bristol have been studied by the late Col. Morrieson, and the order of their issues established. Coins of Weymouth, the most prolific of these south-western mints, are either marked with a W, or have no special mint mark; they have, however, yet to be worked out in detail. In addition to the authorized coinages a number of contemporary forgeries of various degrees of purity circulated in the south-west. We have still to identify the coins which Capt. Smith struck at the semi-authorized mint in Jersey; that this mint actually functioned, Miss Farquhar has recently shown in her paper on "A Lost Coinage in the Channel Islands" (*Num. Chron.*, Ser. V, vol. viii, p. 199).

The classification of all these south-western coins requires considerable research. These notes attempt no more than to describe in detail the coins of Truro and Exeter which have come to my notice; they are not even intended to be the last word on these two mints.

The basis of this study is the immensely valuable paper of Miss Mary Coate on "The Royalist Mints of Truro and Exeter, 1642-6" (*Num. Chron.*, Ser. V, vol. viii, p. 213). No doubt my readers will all have studied this paper with the same great interest as myself; it will, however, be convenient to recall certain passages in it.

Miss Coate was allowed by Col. Sir Courtenay Vyvyan, Bt., of Trelowarren, Cornwall, to examine his family manuscripts; among them she found conclusive evidence that

before the establishment of the mint at Exeter, coins were struck under Royal authority at Truro, a place which had hitherto been unsuspected as a mint.

On 22 August 1642 Charles I raised the Royal Standard at Nottingham; on 20 September of the same year he made his historic declaration at Wellington in Shropshire; on 21 October he ordered Bushell to remove the mint from Aberystwyth to Shrewsbury; three months later this mint was closed, and on 3 January 1643 a mint was established at the New Inn, Oxford, where Bushell remained until the opening of the auxiliary mint at Bristol in the autumn of 1643, after the city's capture by Prince Rupert.

In the meanwhile, in the extreme south-west, preparations were being made on the king's behalf as early as August 1642, that is at the outset of the War. Sir Richard Vyvyan, an ardent Royalist, received a colonel's commission, and proceeded to enrol both mounted and unmounted volunteers. On 14 November 1642 he received a further commission, of an entirely different nature, "to coin or cause to be coined in such place or places as convenient both gold and silver out of the bullion which might be delivered to him for the King's use, and to make same with dies, stamps and forms, as the monies now current within the realm and the coinage produced thereunder to be delivered to Sir Ralph Hopton, Knight, of Bath" (Vyvian MSS.). In passing it may be noted that the wording of the commission does not actually stipulate that the output of the new mint should be carried to Bath, but that it should be delivered to Sir Ralph Hopton, wherever he might be, or as he directed.

There was probably a Royalist head-quarters at Launceston, Cornwall, and from there on 19 November 1642 a dispatch was issued impressing on Sir Richard Vyvyan the urgency of putting the king's command into operation and of obtaining a suitable person and tools whereby the requisite dies could be made. It also contained the suggestion that either Bodmin or Liskeard might be a suitable place to set up the mint. Apparently Sir Richard Vyvyan thought otherwise, and the family papers which Miss Coate examined prove that he selected Truro. It was farther west than the places which the Royalist leaders had suggested, but only twenty miles from his home. In November 1642 there is evidence that Sir Richard Vyvyan was receiving plate,

though he may have received some before. Only one coin exists bearing the date 1642, the exquisite half-crown of the "truncheon" type, the obverse of which was afterwards used with reverse dies dated 1644 and 1645 (Pl. III, 18; V, 38; VI, 47). As the old style year ended on 24 March, it cannot be positively asserted that the half-crown dated 1642 was the earliest coin which Sir Richard struck, but I am inclined, nevertheless, to think it was.

This beautiful and artistic coin has sometimes been regarded as a pattern, but the existence of a number of rubbed specimens indicates that they were put into circulation. The same applies to the 1644 and 1645 half-crowns from the same obverse die.

Against the view that this was the first coin struck at Truro, it may be said that the obverse design does not conform to Sir Richard's order to strike coins in gold and silver "with the forms now current within the realm". Strictly speaking, this would mean that he must copy the latest coins issued from the Royal Mint in 1642, the year of the triangle-in-a-circle mint mark. Actually, even the reverses of Sir Richard's half-crowns and shillings copy a type which was issued many years earlier.

Miss Farquhar has suggested that the "truncheon" obverse had for its prototype the Scottish Rebellion Medal (*Medallic Illustrations*, i, pp. 282-3, 290-4; Pl. III, 16 and 17) which Charles I had struck in gold and silver in 1639. Some bear the initials S. or T.S. and are thought to be the early work of Thomas Simon, who was a pupil of Briot. Briot himself may have executed the unsigned specimens. There is little doubt that a specimen of this medal was available to Sir Richard when he entered on his duties as controller of the mint. It was a piece of good luck that he found a die engraver sufficiently capable to reproduce the type.

The mint at Truro continued to function down to the beginning of September 1643, but during that year the coins were not dated; I have therefore only been able to arrange them in a tentative order.

On 4 September 1643, after a siege, Exeter surrendered to Prince Maurice and the city remained in Royalist hands till 9 April 1646. On 3 January 1644 Sir Richard Vyvyan received a Royal Commission to set up a mint in Exeter; he had, however, already in the previous September, within

three weeks of its capture, received plate there to be coined. He had no doubt anticipated that Exeter would be chosen as a mint.

There is no mention of the Truro mint after September 1643, and Miss Coate has assumed that money ceased to be coined there. The distance between the two places is about eighty miles, and unless the stock of uncoined bullion at Truro was small, it would have been a risky and tedious business to transport it to Exeter. Despite the fact that Sir Richard was collecting plate in Exeter in September 1643, it is quite possible that the Truro mint remained open until Exeter was ready to start operations. If this is so, the larger number of the undated coins should be ascribed to Truro.

The coins dated 1644 or 1645 were all struck at Exeter, but it is difficult, owing to the bewildering combinations of dies, to draw a clear line between the two mints for the undated coins. It should ultimately be possible to divide the coins in the same kind of way as the Shrewsbury and Oxford coins are divided; but we must first have more evidence about the closure of the Truro mint. We do not even know for certain that the two mints did not overlap.

There is considerable variety in the style of workmanship of the obverses; the reverses are more uniform. Generally speaking, crowns and half-crowns with a galloping horse or a horse with lowered head have a well-modelled design and the flans on which they are struck are carefully prepared. I venture to think that these are early productions of the Truro mint.

Next come the crowns and half-crowns with the king's sash tied in a large bow behind. To my mind this monstrosity of a horse cannot possibly have been the work of the engravers who made the dies we have discussed above. The flans are generally carelessly shaped; identical obverse dies are used with dated and undated reverses. I think both these combinations were struck at Exeter rather than Truro.

The dated and undated half-crowns with the Briot horse are apparently contemporary with these. The late Col. Morrieson dated this type, which occurs also at Oxford, to 1643, "intermediate period". All the coins read H1. The design of the Exeter coins is so closely copied from the Oxford half-crown as to suggest that Sir Richard obtained his die from Oxford. It would have been pleasant to find

that the Exeter die was an Oxford die altered, but this is unfortunately not so. There are minute differences in the arrangement of the horse's tail.

Sir Richard Vyvyan continued to control the Exeter mint until its closure. In 1644 and 1645 he seems to have used fewer obverse dies than before. The half-crown obverse having the horse with twisted tail and the contemporary shilling obverse are combined with various reverses dated 1644 and 1645.

There are no undated sixpences, groats, threepences, half-groats, or pennies. Presumably Truro only coined crowns, half-crowns, and shillings, together with gold unites. Of these, two varieties are known from the same obverse and different reverse dies.

The unique silver half-pound piece in the British Museum is from the same obverse die as the crowns with the king's sash tied in a bow, which, as I have already said, I would assign to Exeter. The same reverse die also occurs again on a crown.

Miss Coate was unable to find any evidence to locate the actual site of the mint in Exeter, or to discover the names of the engravers. The late Mr. Symonds suggested a local or west countryman (*Num. Chron.*, Ser. V, vol. viii, p. 227). It is tolerably certain that more than one engraver was employed; the difference in their skill cannot, however, be used to determine from whence they came.

After the recapture of Exeter in April 1646 the house and property of Sir Richard Vyvyan were seized by the parliamentary authorities. They made an inventory of his effects and in it are mentioned coining puncheons, tools, &c. These were confiscated despite his sworn protest that he had bought and paid for them.

I have compiled a list of the coins struck at Truro and Exeter including those in the British Museum or in private collections and those mentioned in recent sale catalogues. In all there are 98 varieties:

Gold

Unites	2 varieties, undated (3 specimens known)
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Silver

Half-pounds	1 „ „ (unique)
Crowns	29 varieties, dated and undated (i.m. Rose, Castle, Ex)

Silver (contd.):

Half-crowns	41	varieties, dated and undated	(i.m. Rose, Castle, Ex)
Shillings	17	„ „ „	(i.m. Rose)
Sixpences	2	„ „	(i.m. „)
Groats	1	„ „	(i.m. „)
Threepence	1	„ „	(i.m. „)
Half-groats	2	„ „	(i.m. „)
Pennies	2	„ „	(i.m. „)

Some are known only from a single specimen. No doubt the above list could be added to, and I should much appreciate particulars of any unpublished coins in the possession of members.

Finally I should, I suppose, refer to the so-called "Exeter Weymouth" half-crowns with the initial mark Rosette. There are two varieties, both of which have the shield surmounted by a large crown. I do not think either of these coins has any connexion with Exeter.

By the courtesy of Messrs. A. H. Baldwin & Sons I am privileged to illustrate (Plate VII, 53) the so-called "Bristol-Exeter" half-crown from the Murdoch Sale (second part, lot 143). In the sale catalogue it was described as being "a connecting link between the mints of Bristol and Exeter". In my opinion it is a "doctored" coin and should be classed as a forgery. The rose beneath the horse has been added by tooling the surface of a Bristol coin.

In conclusion I wish to express my thanks to the British Museum, to Miss Farquhar, and to Mr. Ryan for permission to illustrate certain of their coins and in particular to Mr. Derek Allen for revising this paper and arranging the plates.

LISTS

All Coins in the following lists are in the collection of the author unless otherwise stated.

References are given to Hawkins (Hks.)

UNITES, TRURO, UNDATED

- I. *Obv.* ♂ CAROLVS . D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HI : REX :
Profile bust of king to left, wearing double-arched crown, from which descend long straggling locks of hair over a falling collar edged with lace scallops; XX behind; the whole within a dotted inner circle. The forms of the letters L and D are peculiar.



CHARLES I: TRURO AND EXETER MINTS

Rev. CVLTORES · SVI · DEVS · PROTEGIT  Oval garnished shield surmounted by a double-arched crown; bird-headed harp; the whole within a dotted inner circle.
(*Miss Farquhar's Collection.*)

This reverse legend is only found elsewhere on the Tower Half-Unites. Pl. I, 1

2. *Obv.* Same die as No. 1, but in a later state.

Rev. · FLORENT · CONCORDIA · REGNA ·  Oval garnished shield surmounted by a double-arched crown which differs in detail from the preceding Unite; C-R crowned at either side of shield; bird-headed harp; the whole within a dotted inner circle.

The reverse of this coin closely resembles that of the Tower Unite Kenyon type 3, figure 114, i.m. Δ, 1639.
Pl. I, 2.

In the commission granted to Sir Richard Vyvyan dated 14 November 1642, he was commanded to coin both gold and silver out of such plate as might be delivered to him.

HALF-POUND, TRURO OR EXETER, UNDATED

1. *Obv.*  : CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRI : FRA : ET : HI : REX
King riding to right on long-bodied, short-legged horse. King looks forward and his sash is tied in a bow. Hks. 479.

Rev.  CHRISTO · AVSPICE · REGNO Oval garnished shield, as on Tower Crowns, Hks. 476.

This piece, which is in the British Museum, is struck from silver Crown dies upon a thick flan and weighs 913·5 grains. See No. 5 below. Pl. I, 3.

CROWNS, TRURO, UNDATED

1. *Obv.*  CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FRA : ET : HI : REX
King facing left, holding upright sword, seated on thick-set horse with lowered head and long tail. King's sash with two loose ends extended; the whole within a dotted inner circle.

Rev.  · CHRISTO : AVSPICE : REGNO Oval garnished shield with various pellets at intervals; harp not bird-headed; the whole within a dotted inner circle;

copied from the design of the Tower Crowns, Types III and IV.

Hks. 478, No. 1.

Pl. I, 4.

Fine workmanship and struck on well-shaped flans.

2. *Obv.* ☉ : CAROLVS ; D ; G ; MAG ; BRI ; FRA ; ET ; HI ; REX
King three-quarters face to left, holding sword upright, riding upon a clumsy horse with raised sword. King's sash tied in a large bow; the whole within a dotted inner circle.

Rev. ☉ : CHRISTO : AVSPICE : REGNO : Oval shield similar to the reverse of the preceding coin but composed of twelve scrolls. Roughly executed. Pl. I, 5.

3. *Obv.* As No. 2, i.m. ☉, but : stops. (The same die with the stops altered.)

Rev. ☉ : CHRISTO ; AVSPICE ; REGNO : Oval garnished shield as on No. 1, but without pellets. Harp as on No. 2. Pl. I, 6.

4. *Obv.* Same die as No. 3, i.m.

Rev. ☉ . CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Oval garnished shield as on No. 3, but with pellets. The harp differs. Hks. 479, No. 2. Pl. I, 7

- 4a. A die variety of this reverse is in the B.M.. The upper scrolls to right and left bear small projections as on No. 5. Harp as on No. 4.

5. *Obv.* Same die as Half-pound No. 1 and Crown No. 3, etc.; i.m. ☉

Rev. Same die as Half-pound No. 1. Harp as on No. 4. (British Museum.) Pl. I, 8.

For the Half-pound see p. 233.

CROWNS, EXETER, DATED 1644

6. *Obv.* Same die as Truro Crown No. 3, etc.; i.m. ☉

Rev. I.m. ☉ divides the date ; CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO
16 ☉ 44 Oval garnished shield as on Truro Crown No. 4. Harp not bird-headed.

Hks. No. 4.

Pl. II, 9.



7. *Obv.* Same die as No. 3, etc.; i.m. 
Rev. CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . 1644  The shield is smaller and more oval. Harp as on No. 6.
Hks. No. 3. Pl. II, 10.
8. *Obv.* Same die as No. 3, etc.; i.m. 
Rev.  CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . 1644 . Oval garnished shield as on No. 7, except at the bottom. The harp is bird-headed as on No. 2.
(British Museum.) Pl. II, 11.
- 8a. There is a die variety of this reverse in the British Museum; the date is in smaller figures and is followed by a pellet.
- 8b-d. There are two die varieties of this reverse in the collection of Mr. A. F. Baldwin, on which the harp and garnishing are as on Nos. 9 and 11. On 8b the legend is as on No. 8; on 8c the date is small, and the stops are thus: 1644 :  . A fourth die variety, 8d, is similar and has the legend as on No. 8, except that there is a pellet after 1644.

CROWNS, EXETER, DATED 1645

9. *Obv.* Same die as Nos. 3-8; i.m.
Rev. Ex . CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . 1645 . Oval garnished shield; harp not bird-headed.
Hks. No. 5. Pl. II, 12.
- 9a. A die variety of this reverse is in the British Museum; it differs in the spacing of the letters and the numerals are smaller.
10. *Obv.*  (castle) : CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRI : FRA : ET : HI : REX : Similar to preceding coins but king's sash has two loose ends instead of bow.
Rev.  . CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . 1645 . Oval garnished shield; bird-headed harp.
Hks. No. 6. Pl. II, 13.
11. *Obv.* Same die as No. 10; i.m.  (castle).
Rev. Ex . CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . 1645 . Same die as No. 9a.
Hks. No. 8. Pl. II, 14.

11a. Another specimen of this coin in the British Museum has the same reverse die as No. 9.

12. *Obv.* Same die as No. 10; i.m.  (castle).

Rev.  (castle). CHRISTO: AVSPICE: REGNO. 1645. Round garnished shield; bird-headed harp.

Hks. 480, No. 7.

Pl. II, 15.

12a-j. Ten die varieties of this reverse have been recorded. No. 12a, in the collection of Mr. A. F. Baldwin, does not differ from 12; 12b, in the British Museum, differs only in the absence of a stop before CHRISTO; 12c, in Mr. Baldwin's collection, differs from 12 only by having a differently shaped tower initial mark, broader and more rectangular; 12d, in the same collection differs from 12 by having two-pellet stops throughout, i.e. : 1645: : The remaining six varieties have the garnishing below the shield as on No. 8 (Pl. II, 11); 12e, in the British Museum, has the legend as No. 12 and a pellet below the garnishing; 12f, in Mr. Baldwin's collection, is similar; 12g, h, and i, in the same collection, differ only in the absence of the pellet beneath the garnishing; 12j, in the British Museum, differs from 12e by having no pellet before CHRISTO.

HALF-CROWN, TRURO, DATED 1642

1. *Obv.*  CAROLVS. D. G. MAG. BR. FR. ET. HI. REX King facing, holding baton, mounted on spirited horse galloping over arms; the whole within a dotted inner circle. This obverse die is also used with Exeter Half-crowns dated on the reverse 1644 and 1645.

Rev.  CHRISTO. AVSPICE. REGNO. Oval shield garnished with scrolls and thistle heads; bird-headed harp; 1642 below in curved cartouche.

Hks. No. 1.

Pl. III, 18.

1a. There is a die variety of this reverse in the British Museum; it differs only in the absence of the pellets to right and left of the initial-mark.

HALF-CROWNS, TRURO, UNDATED

2. *Obv.*  (very small) CAROLVS. D. G. MAG. BRIT. FRAN. ET. HIB. REX King holding baton, mounted on galloping horse; no arms below horse.



16



18



19



17



20



21



22



23



24



25



Rev. ☉ (large) CHRISTO ☿ AVSPICE ☿ REGNO Oblong shield slightly garnished, with a lis above and trefoil below; harp not bird-headed; C—R at sides of shield.
(*Miss Farquhar's Coll., ex Rashleigh Sale, lot 937.*)

Pl. III, 19.

Note the peculiar curly ☿-shaped stops which occur on this reverse and on that of No. 4. Although it is tempting to regard this mark as a hidden allusion to the mint of Truro, the idea would require corroboration before it could be seriously entertained.

3. Obv. ☉ : CAROLVS : D : G : MA : BR : FRA : ET : HI : REX .
King holding sword, mounted on galloping horse; his hair long and waving, as is the scarf behind him; no arms below horse.

Rev. ☉ : CHRISTO . ☿ AVSPICE . ☿ REGNO : As No. 2; C—R at sides of shield. Harp not bird-headed.
Hks., No. 3. (*Ex Rashleigh Sale, lot 938.*)

Pl. III, 20.

4. Obv. Same die as No. 3 above.

Rev. ☉ : CHRISTO ☿ AVSPICE ☿ REGNO : Oblong shield slightly garnished; C—R above shield.
(*Ex Clarke Thornhill Sale, lot 519.*)

Pl. III, 21.

5. Obv. ☉ : CAROLVS ☿ D ☿ G ☿ MA ☿ BR : FRA ☿ ET ☿ HIB ☿ REX :
King on galloping horse similar to No. 4. The sword points to the X of REX instead of to the R.

Rev. Same die as No. 3 above; ☿ stops.
Hks. 488, No. 2. (*British Museum, ex Rashleigh Sale, lot 940.*)

Pl. III, 22.

6. Obv. ☉ CAROLVS : D : G : MA : BR : FRA : ET : HI : REX King three-quarter face, holding sword, riding on trotting horse. (Owing to the double striking of the specimen illustrated on Pl. III, 24, this die has been sometimes read as ET : H : REX.)

Rev. Same die as No. 2 above; ☿ stops.
(*Miss Farquhar, ex Rashleigh Sale, lot 939.*)

Pl. III, 23.

7. Obv. Same die as No. 6 above.

Rev. ☉ CHRISTO ☿ AVSPICE ☿ REGNO Oblong shield with

peculiar garnishing; harp without bird's head; a flaw on the left-hand side; C—R on either side.

(*British Museum; the specimen in the author's cabinet is probably the Rashleigh coin, lot 939 bis.*) **Pl. III, 24.**

8. *Obv.* ☉ : CAROLVS : D : G : MA : BRI : FRA : ET : HIB : REX .
King side face, holding sword, riding on walking horse with lowered head.

Rev. ☉ CHRISTO : AVSPICE : REGNO Oblong shield similar to Nos. 2 and 3; C—R on either side.

Hks. No. 4. (*Ex Hamilton Smith Sale, 1913, lot 49.*)

Pl. III, 25.

9. *Obv.* ☉ : CAROLVS . D . G . MA . BRI . FRA . ET . HI . REX :
King side face, holding sword, riding on walking horse with lowered head; coarser style, with king's head larger.

Rev. Same die as No. 4 above; ☉ stops.

(*British Museum.*)

Pl. IV, 26.

10. *Obv.* ☉ : CAROLVS . D . G . MA . BRI . FRA . ET . HI . REX
King side face, holding sword, riding on walking horse with lowered head; king's body very small and sashes short.

Rev. ☉ : CHRISTO ☉ AVSPICE ☉ REGNO : Oval garnished shield; C—R above; the lis in the French arms are arranged thus +⁺.

Hks. No. 5.

Pl. IV, 27.

11. *Obv.* Same die as No. 10 above.

Rev. Same die as Nos. 4 and 9 above; ☉ stops.

(*British Museum.*)

Pl. IV, 28.

HALF-CROWNS, TRURO OR EXETER, UNDATED

12. *Obv.* ☉ CAROLVS : D : G : MA : BR : FRA : ET : HIB : REX King riding on walking horse; sash tied in a bow behind.

Rev. : CHRISTO ; AVSPICE ; REGNO : Oval garnished shield; the garnishing and the harp resemble No. 7. C—R on either side.

Pl. IV, 29.

This Half-crown appears to be a transitional coin between the oblong shield reverses and those with the oval shield and scroll garnishing.



26



27



28



29



30



31



32



33



34



13. *Obv.* Same die as No. 12 above.
Rev. ☉ CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO Oval shield garnished with scrolls. There are no pellets surrounding the scrolls. **Pl. IV, 30.**
14. *Obv.* Same die as No. 12 above.
Rev. ☉ . CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Similar but with pellets surrounding shield. **Pl. IV, 31.**
15. *Obv.* Same die as No. 12 above.
Rev. ☉ : CHRISTO ; AVSPICE ; REGNO : Oval garnished shield with $\wedge$ between scrolls.
(British Museum.) **Pl. IV, 32.**
16. *Obv.* Same die as No. 12 above.
Rev. ☉ : CHRISTO ; AVSPICE ; REGNO ; Oval garnished shield similar to the above but with $\wedge$ smaller.
(V.J.E. Ryan.) **Pl. IV, 33.**
17. *Obv.* Same die as No. 12 above.
Rev. ☉ : CHRISTO ; AVSPICE ; REGNO : Oval garnished shields similar to the above, but the harp is as on No. 12.
(British Museum.) **Pl. IV, 34.**
18. *Obv.* ☉ CAROLVS . D . G . MA . BR . FR . ET . HI . REX King mounted on stepping horse with twisted tail.
Rev. . CHRISTO ; AVSPICE ; REGNO . Oval garnished shield with $\wedge$ between scrolls as on Nos. 15, 16, and 17; harp as on Nos. 15 and 16; a different die from either.
 This obverse die is also used on the half-crowns dated 1644 and 1645. **Pl. V, 35.**
19. *Obv.* ☉ CAROLVS . D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HI : REX King on horseback; ground below horse as on the "Briot" half-crowns of Oxford for 1643, but without plume in the field.
Rev. ☉ CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Oval shield garnished with scrolls; bird-headed harp; same type as Nos. 15, 16 and 18.
(Ex Rashleigh Sale, lot 946, and Bruun Sale, lot 761.) **Pl. V, 36.**
- 19a. A die variety of this reverse is in the British Museum; it differs only in the spacing of the letters.

20. *Obv.* Same die as No. 19 above.

Rev. ☉ : • CHRISTO • AVSPICE • REGNO. : Oval shield with unusual garnishing; this type occurs on no other Truro or Exeter coin.

(*British Museum.*)

Pl. V, 37.

HALF-CROWNS, EXETER, DATED 1644.

21. *Obv.* i.m. ☉; king holding baton, mounted on spirited horse galloping over arms; same die as Truro Half-crown 1642, No. 1.

Rev. ☉ • CHRISTO • AVSPICE • REGNO • 1644 Round garnished shield; bird-headed harp.

Hks. No. 10. (*British Museum.*)

Pl. V, 38.

22. *Obv.* ☉ CAROLVS • D • G • M • BR • FR • ET • HI • REX Short and portly figure of king, mounted on horse with ill-proportioned head and chest; apparently a copy of the undated Half-crown No. 10 made by an inferior engraver.

Rev. CHRISTO • AVSPICE • REGNO 16 ☉ 44 Oval garnished shield without pellets in the scrolls.

Hks. No. 7. (*Ex Hamilton Smith and Grant Francis Collections.*)

Pl. V, 39.

22a. A variety of this reverse die is in Miss Farquhar's collection; the figure 4 is without serifs.

23. *Obv.* Same die as No. 22 above.

Rev. CHRISTO • AVSPICE • REGNO • 16 ☉ 144 Oval garnished shield similar to the above but with pellets in the scrolls.

(*British Museum.*)

Pl. V, 40.

24. *Obv.* Same die as No. 22 above.

Rev. ☉ CHRISTO • AVSPICE • REGNO • 1644 Oval garnished shield as above.

(*Miss Farquhar, ex Rashleigh Sale, lot 945.*)

Pl. V, 41.

25. *Obv.* i.m. ☉; "Briot" horse; same die as undated Half-crown No. 19 above.

Rev. ☉ CHRISTO • AVSPICE • REGNO 1644 Oval shield garnished with scrolls; bird-headed harp.

Hks. No. 8.

Pl. V, 42.

26. *Obv.* i.m. ☉; horse with twisted tail; same die as undated Half-crown No. 18 above.

Rev. ☉ CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO 1644 Oval shield garnished with scrolls; bird-headed harp; small numerals without serifs. PI. V, 43.

27. *Obv.* Same die as Nos. 18 and 26 above.

Rev. ☉ CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO 1644 Oval garnished shield finished differently below; larger numerals with serifs.

Hks. No. 9.

PI. VI, 44.

27a. A variety of the reverse die is in the British Museum; it differs only in that the scrolls around the shield are somewhat broken, and the numerals, which are large, have no serifs.

28. *Obv.* Same die as Nos. 18, 26, etc. above.

Rev. Ex . EXVRGAT . DEVS . DISSIPENTVR . INIMICI . / REL : PRO : LE . / ANG : LIB : PAR . in two lines. A plain line above and below. Three peculiarly shaped plumes with single bands above; . 1644 . below. Outer legend begins at left of coin.

(V. J. E. Ryan.)

PI. VI, 45.

29. *Obv.* Same die as Nos. 18, 26, etc. above.

Rev. Similar to the previous coin but with Ex in exergue below . 1644 ., and with no pellets after LE and PAR.

Hks. 489, No. 6. (*Ex Hamilton Smith Collection.*)

PI. VI, 46.

HALF-CROWNS, EXETER, DATED 1645

30. *Obv.* i.m. ☉; king holding baton, mounted on spirited horse galloping over arms; same die as Nos. 1 and 21.

Rev. X (castle) . CHRISTO : AVSPICE : REGNO . 1645 . Oval garnished shield, with new bird-headed harp. Cf. No. 31. See *Num. Chron.*, vol. xii, 1850, p. 63.

Hks. No. 11. (*Earl of Ellesmere's Collection.*)

PI. VI, 47.

31. *Obv.* i.m. ☉; horse with twisted tail; same die as Nos. 18, 26, etc. above.

Rev. X (castle) . CHRISTO : AVSPICE : REGNO : 1645 . Oval

garnished shield with new bird-headed harp; scrolls beneath differ from No. 30.

Hks. No. 12.

Pl. VI, 48.

32. *Obv.* Same die as Nos. 18, 26, 31, etc. above.

Rev. Ex. CHRISTO. AVSPICE. REGNO. 1645. Oval shield garnished with scrolls and harp as on Nos. 30 and 31.

Pl. VI, 49.

32a-b. Two varieties of this reverse are in the British Museum; 32a has the legend Ex. CHRISTO : AVSPICE : REGNO. 1645. with very small numerals; 32b has the same legend with larger numerals.

33. *Obv.* Same die as Nos. 18, 26, 31, etc. above.

Rev. Ex. CHRISTO. AVSPICE. REGNO. 1645. Oval garnished shield differing beneath from the previous types; large lion and harp without bird's head.

Hks. No. 13.

(British Museum.)

Pl. VI, 50.

34. *Obv.* Same die as Nos. 18, 26, 31, etc. above.

Rev. ☉. CHRISTO. AVSPICE. REGNO. 1645. Oval garnished shield as No. 30, etc.

Hks. No. 14; Snelling, pl. 13, No. 11.

(British Museum.)

Pl. VI, 51.

35. *Obv.* Same die as Nos. 18, 26, 31, etc.

Rev. Ex. EXVRGAT. DEVS. DISSIPENTVR. INIMICI. | REL PRO LE | ANG LI PAR in two lines. A plain line above and below. Three peculiarly shaped plumes with single bands above; . 1645 . below. Outer legend begins at left of coin.

Hks. No. 15 (this coin); believed to be unique.

Compare Nos. 28 and 29.

Pl. VI, 52.

SHILLINGS, TRURO, UNDATED

I. *Obv.* ☉. CAROLVS; D; G; M; BR; FRA; ET; HI; REX. Small bust of king to left, wearing double-arched crown and falling lace collar edged with scallops over armour; XII behind; the whole within a dotted inner circle.

Rev. ☉. CHRISTO. AVSPICE. REGNO. Oblong shield with peculiar garnishing; ÷ stops; bird-headed harp.

Hks. No. 7. (A specimen also in the British Museum.)

Pl. VII, 54.



53



54



55



56



57



58



59



60



61



62



63

CHARLES I: TRURO AND EXETER MINTS

HALF-CROWN (FALSE) AND SHILLINGS

Plate VII

2. *Obv.* ☉ CAROLVS:D:G:MAG:BR:FR:ET:HI:REX Larger bust and longer hair.

Rev. ☉ CHRISTO.AVSPICE.REGNO Oval shield garnished with eight scrolls; Λ between each. Harp bird-headed.

(*British Museum.*)

Pl. VII, 55.

3. *Obv.* Same die as No. 2; i.m. ☉.

Rev. ☉ .CHRISTO;AVSPICE;REGNO. Similar oval shield garnished with eight scrolls; Λ between each. Compare Half-crowns, Nos. 15-18. Harp as on No. 2.

(*V. J. E. Ryan.*)

Pl. VII, 56.

4. *Obv.* Same die as No. 2 etc; i.m. ☉.

Rev. ☉ CHRISTO.AVSPICE.REGNO. Oval shield with peculiar garnishing. C—R on either side. Harp as on No. 2.

The reverse is similar to the Tower Shillings, Hks. 514, No. 3, with the i.m. Harp (1632) and Portcullis (1633), but the garnishing is different and resembles more closely that of the Truro gold Unite, No. 1. The type was unknown to Hawkins.

Pl. VII, 57.

5. *Obv.* ☉ CAROLVS.D.G.MA.BR.FR.ET.HI.REX Similar bust in a more linear style; XII smaller.

Rev. Same die as No. 4; i.m. ☉.

(*British Museum.*)

Pl. VII, 58.

6. *Obv.* Same die as No. 5; i.m. ☉.

Rev. Same die as No. 2; i.m. ☉.

(*British Museum.*)

Pl. VII, 59.

7. *Obv.* Same die as No. 5; i.m. ☉.

Rev. CHRISTO.AVSPICE.REGNO Oval garnished shield as on dated coins.

Hks. No. 1.

Pl. VII, 60.

- 7a. A die variety of the reverse is in the British Museum; it differs only in the spacing of the letters.

SHILLINGS, EXETER, DATED 1644

8. *Obv.* Same die as No. 5; i.m. ☉.

Rev. CHRISTO.AVSPICE.REGNO 16 ☉ 44 Oval shield garnished with scrolls; large bird-headed harp.

Hks. 520, No. 4.

Pl. VII, 61.

9. *Obv.* Same die as No. 5; i.m. ☉.
Rev. 1644 (very small) CHRISTO • AVSPICE • REGNO Similar with large bird-headed harp.
 Hks. No. 3. (*British Museum.*) **Pl. VII, 62.**
10. *Obv.* Same die as No. 5; i.m. ☉.
Rev. ☉ CHRISTO • AVSPICE • REGNO 1644 Similar with large bird-headed harp.
 Hks. No. 2. **Pl. VII, 63.**
11. *Obv.* Same die as No. 5; i.m. ☉.
Rev. ☉ CHRISTO • AVSPICE • REGNO 1644 Similar but with small harp as on Sixpences; numerals small and without serifs. There are no pellets in the scrollwork beneath the shield.
 (*British Museum.*) **Pl. VII, 64.**
12. *Obv.* Same die as No. 5; i.m. ☉.
Rev. ☉ CHRISTO • AVSPICE • REGNO 1644 Similar but with small harp; numerals have serifs, and the usual pellets are present in the scroll work. **Pl. VII, 65.**

SHILLINGS, EXETER, DATED 1645

13. *Obv.* Same die as No. 5; i.m. ☉.
Rev. ☉ CHRISTO • AVSPICE • REGNO • 1645 • Oval garnished shield as No. 11 without pellets; small bird-headed harp.
 Hks. No. 5 (*British Museum.*) **Pl. VIII, 66.**
14. *Obv.* Same die as No. 5; i.m. ☉.
Rev. ☉ CHRISTO • AVSPICE • REGNO • 1645 • Oval garnished shield with different scrolls at base containing pellets; small bird-headed harp. **Pl. VIII, 67.**
- 14a. A die variety of the reverse is in the British Museum; it differs only in the spacing of the letters.
15. *Obv.* Same die as No. 5; i.m. ☉.
Rev. EXVRGAT DEVS DISSIPENTVR INIMICI / RELIG : PRO /
 LEG : ANG . / LIB : PAR . in three lines. Three peculiarly shaped plumes above; • 1645 . below. Outer legend begins at left of coin.
 Hks. No. 6. **Pl. VIII, 68.**



CHARLES I: TRURO AND EXETER MINTS
SHILLINGS AND SMALLER COINS

SIXPENCES, EXETER, DATED 1644

1. *Obv.* ⦿ CAROLVS.D.G.MA.BR.FR.ET.HI.REX Bust of king to left, wearing double-arched crown; VI behind head.

Rev. : CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO : I : 6 : ⦿ : 4 : 4 Round garnished shield; bird-headed harp. **Pl. VIII, 69.**

2. *Obv.* Similar to No. 1, but reading CAROLVS.D.G.M.B.F.ET.H.REX

Rev. ⦿ CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO 1644

Ruding Sup. pl. VI, No. 1 (*British Museum*).

Pl. VIII, 70.

GROAT, EXETER, DATED 1644

1. *Obv.* ⦿ 1644 CAROLVS.D.G.M.B.F.ET.H.REX Bust of king to left, wearing double-arched crown; IIII behind head.

Rev. ⦿ : CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO Round garnished shield; bird-headed harp. **Pl. VIII, 71.**

THREEPENCE, EXETER, DATED 1644

1. *Obv.* ⦿ CAROLVS.D.G.MA.BR.F.E.H.RE Bust of king wearing single-arched crown; III behind head.

Rev. CHRIS / TO.AVS / PICE . R / EGNO ⦿ Square shield over cross fleury; 1644 above shield. **Pl. VIII, 72.**

HALF GROATS, EXETER, DATED 1644

1. *Obv.* ⦿ CAROLVS.D.G.M.B.F.ET.HI.REX Bust of king to left, wearing double-arched crown; II behind.

Rev. ⦿ THRO . IVSTI . FIRMAT . 1644 Round garnished shield; bird-headed harp. **Pl. VIII, 73.**

2. *Obv.* Same die as No. 1 above.

Rev. i.m. ⦿; same legend and date; but a large rose in place of the shield.

(*Ex Rashleigh Collection.*)

Pl. VIII, 74.

PENNIES, EXETER, DATED 1644

1. *Obv.* ⦿ CAROLVS.D.G.M.B.F.E.H.R. Bust of king to left; I behind.

Rev. ⦿ THRO . IVS . FIRMAT . 1644 . Large rose in centre in place of shield. **Pl. VIII, 75.**

2. *Obv.* ☉ CAROLVS . D . G . M . B . F . ET . H . REX Bust of king to left ; I behind.

Rev. ☉ THRO . IVS . FIRMAT . 1644 Large rose in centre in place of shield.

Ruding pl. xxv, No. 12. This coin cannot now be traced, but is included on the authority of Ruding and Snelling.

PLATES

All coins illustrated in the accompanying plates are in the author's collection with the exception of:

Plate I, 1, Miss Farquhar's collection. Plate V, 41, Miss Farquhar's collection.

Plate I, 3, British Museum.

Plate VI, 45, Mr. V. J. E. Ryan's collection.

Plate I, 8, British Museum.

Plate VI, 47, Earl of Ellesmere's collection.

Plate II, 11, British Museum.

Plate VI, 50, British Museum.

Plate II, 16, British Museum.

Plate VI, 51, British Museum.

Plate II, 17, British Museum.

Plate VII, 55, By permission of Mr. A. F. Baldwin.

Plate III, 19, Miss Farquhar's collection.

Plate VII, 23, British Museum.

Plate III, 22, British Museum.

Plate VII, 56, Mr. V. J. E. Ryan's collection.

Plate III, 23, Miss Farquhar's collection.

Plate VII, 58, British Museum.

Plate IV, 26, British Museum.

Plate VII, 59, British Museum.

Plate IV, 28, British Museum.

Plate VII, 62, British Museum.

Plate IV, 32, British Museum.

Plate VIII, 64, British Museum.

Plate IV, 33, Mr. V. J. E. Ryan's collection.

Plate VIII, 64, British Museum.

Ryan's collection.

Plate VIII, 70, British Museum.

Plate IV, 34, British Museum.

Plate V, 37, British Museum.

Plate V, 38, British Museum.

Plate V, 40, British Museum.

A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF RYE

By LEOPOLD A. VIDLER

THE subject of this paper is the numismatic history of Rye, and it was only when I began to prepare it that I realized how varied was the series of coins, tokens, tallies, and medals that my native town had produced.

Rye, as a borough, might presumably have been privileged to strike coins of the realm at any time, but, as we shall see, she was only once called upon, so far as we are aware, to do so, her other issues being those of private persons, probably largely illegal, but winked at by the authorities.

Rye came into existence a few years before the date of the Domesday Survey, probably as successor to the rights and privileges of the Town and Port of Rameslie. This was the head of the large manor of that name which Canute, fulfilling a promise made by Ethelred II, had given to the abbot and monks of Fécamp in Normandy in the third decade of the eleventh century. The entry in Domesday, under the heading of the possessions of the church of Fécamp, reads: 'The Abbot of Fécamp holds Rameslie of the King and held it of King Edward. . . . In this Manor is a new Burgh, and there are 64 burgesses returning £8 less two shillings. In Hastings 4 burgesses and 14 bordars return 63 shillings.' Quite shortly the evidence for the attribution of this new borough to the later town of Rye is that the only other two possible claimants, Hastings and Winchelsea, had both been mentioned by name long before and so could not have been a new borough, without a name, in 1086. From this date Rameslie disappears from history and was probably submerged by the sea, and Rye came into being.

Those of us who have visited Fécamp Abbey will realize the wealth and importance of this Benedictine foundation and the many advantages that would accrue to Rye from her association with it. Meagre as material for our history is in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we know of two things which we owe to Fécamp Abbey: the first is our magnificent church, built in the Norman style as far as the chancel and transepts and completed in the transition period between Norman and Early English before the end of the twelfth

century, with two chapels added in the thirteenth century; the second is a hospital for lepers on the hill outside the town. It was while these works were proceeding that our numismatic history begins.

King Stephen, having lost many of his mints to the Earl of Gloucester, was in 1141, after his second coronation in Canterbury Cathedral, opening new mints in the part of the country that remained loyal to him, and Rye, as a borough, was selected as a place of sufficient importance for one of them. The story of our knowledge of the existence of coins struck at Rye is an interesting one; for long they were confounded with the issues from the mint of Castle Rising in Norfolk, though the chief find had been at Linton in the adjoining county of Kent. They were finally separated and identified by our late member and former President, Mr. W. J. Andrew, and published by him in a paper in the *Numismatic Circular* in 1914. The Great War prevented due notice being taken of his discovery, and it was only after a visit he paid to Rye and the renewal of an early friendship with my family that he decided to call attention again to the matter. He had by this time acquired further evidence for his attribution and was able definitely to prove his case in a paper read before this Society and later published in volume xx. I need not therefore go into the reasons that he there gives in detail, but merely state the salient facts.

It appears that our first moneyer was William (though some express doubts of this attribution) and that he was sent from Canterbury to open the mint in 1141. By Easter of 1142 the mint was definitely established under Radulf, Rauf, or Ralph of Rye, probably one of the leading men of the town, but of whom we have no other knowledge. There are two coins of William's minting extant and at least eight pennies and two cut halfpennies of Radulf's. On the accession of Henry II the mint was closed and Ralph transferred to Canterbury, where he continued to issue coins as Ralph of Canterbury. He was still there in 1176/7, when, as Ralph of Rye, moneyer at Canterbury, he and his wife were fined 1,000 marks, the equivalent of between £600 and £700, but worth vastly more to-day.

Before the end of this century Rye, with old Winchelsea, was admitted into the Confederation of the Cinque Ports,

as a member in aid of Hastings, and the barons were gradually buying back their privileges from Fécamp. As time went on, her association with her overlords became more and more one of money payments, though it still prevented her from being fortified and left her exposed and helpless to any foreign foe. In 1216 her undefended state tempted Louis the Dauphin of France to make Rye his head-quarters during his attempt on the English throne, and it was only the death of John and the Barons' preference for the young Prince Henry that caused the failure of his adventure. It was now evident that two towns so important as Rye and Winchelsea could not safely be left in foreign hands, and, after an abortive appeal to the Pope in 1226, a friendly agreement was finally arrived at with the abbey, by which these two towns were exchanged for certain inland places and in 1247 they were resumed into the king's hands.

About this time there was started in Rye, on a bank north of the town, a pottery, the site of which I accidentally discovered while searching for the foundations of the Leper Hospital in what is now known as the Spital field. I dug straight down the chimney of one of the three kilns that I afterwards found. Among the objects of interest found during an excavation lasting over five years was a floor tile, for the kiln made inlaid tiles for Rye Church as well as pots. On it is the upper half of a pattern representing King Edward I, which our late friend Mr. Andrew assured me was copied from a coin of that king, issued in 1279 or later. I have not a complete tile for the lower half, but sufficient pieces to draw it, so I show a sketch of the whole design **Fig. 1.**) I may say that King Edward I had a very close personal association with our town and incorporated us in 1289, together with New Winchelsea, which he had founded after the destruction of the Old Town in 1287. The companion double tile, which is probably a representation of Archbishop Winchelsey, was one of the series found. The fact that I turned the whole site over with the point of a trowel and did not find a single coin of the period I take to be negative evidence that workmen at the pottery did not carry any of their meagre wages in their pockets, but probably handed the whole over to their wives on Saturday night. The only money-box found had been broken open.

In the fourteenth century Rye and Winchelsea attained

full status in the Cinque Ports Confederation, and Edward III made grants to the town to enclose it with walls and gates; but in spite of these advantages she suffered many raids by the French, culminating in 1377 with the complete destruc-



FIG. 1.

TWO FOURTEENTH-CENTURY TILES FROM RYE. (From a drawing. The lower Tile is based on existing fragments.)

tion of the town by fire, the sacking of the church and removal of the lead from the roof and the bells from the tower. I can produce as evidence of this a silver penny of Edward III—the raid took place a few days after his death—found under the floor of an old house, which was built on the site of one destroyed on that occasion. I also have a halfpenny.

In 1494 we have an entry in our records of some interest to numismatists; it is an ordinance of King Henry VII which states "that an Englishe peny, the whiche is called sterling round, without ony clyppying, shall weigh 32 cornes of whete in the myddis of the eare, and twenty pence makyth an unce and twelve unces makyth a pound, that is to say, twenty shillings sterling".

Now I do not know if numismatists have ever thought out what became of some of the clippings from the silver coins that resulted from this dishonest but lucrative practice, a practice that seems to have been common from the earliest times. From the Rye records I can, at any rate, give you one instance of their use. In 1502 Rye required a new mace to be carried before its mayor on state occasions, and paid 6*d.* for the ironwork and 15*s.* for the workmanship. The Chamberlain was then able to produce out of his store of silver clippings, forfeited by convicted Clippers, 6 oz. of silver at 3*s.* 2*d.* the ounce. In 1507, in making another mace, 10 oz. was required, and this he supplied at 1*s.* 9*d.* per oz., the price seemingly having fallen to this figure, possibly from their being from base coins. Rye possesses two early maces, one for the mayor dated 1570 and one for the king's bailiff, which may possibly be one of those in question. The rule was, I believe, one office, one mace; and the reason why the mayor of Rye has two maces carried before him to-day is that he became *ex-officio* king's bailiff in 1705. When these maces needed repair early in the next century, silver medallions of James I were inserted in the heads.

In 1530 a French priest was arrested and imprisoned in Rye for clipping money. His keep cost the town 30*s.*, and they were able to recover 26*s.* 4*d.* of this by selling his ill-gotten gains, which weighed over 7½ oz., at 3*s.* 6*d.* an ounce.

As is well known, the neglect of the authorities to provide sufficient and suitable small change led in 1648 to the commencement of the series of seventeenth-century tokens which have such great local interest to-day. Although our sister town of Winchelsea, so far as has been discovered, did not issue a single token, Rye, the more flourishing of the two towns, issued five.

Three of these, all farthings, are of similar type and, as one is dated 1652, I will place it at the beginning of the series. (The references are to *Boyne* and *Williamson*.)

W. 156. *Obv.* WILLIAM . KEYE . AT . THE. A Ship.
m.m. A Mullet.

Rev. SHEEPE . IN . RYE . 1652. Inner rope
circle; within W^K I m.m. A Mullet.

Note. I have nothing to add to the particulars of this issuer that I gave in my *Riddles of Rye*, 1925, except that a Dock near the Strand Quay was named after him in a map dated 1668, the same year as the token, and that the present Ship Inn is much too late to have any connexion with him. At any rate, he was living in 1656 in a house on the west cliff. There is no evidence that he was ever an innkeeper.

B. 73. *Obv.* THOMAS + BOYCE + OF Inner rope circle;
W. 154. within, Grocers Arms. m.m. A Mullet.

Rev. RYE + IN + SVSSEX Inner rope circle,
within. + B +
T + E m.m. A Mullet.

Note. All I have to add to my note in *Riddles of Rye* is that he was a Jurat of the Corporation from 1655 to 1658.

B. 74. MICHELL . CADMAN . AT . THE A Mermaid;
W. 155. no inner circle or m.m.

Rev. MEAREMEAD . IN . RYE Inner rope
circle and within . C .
M . A m.m. A Mullet.

Note. Owing to the rough lettering I feel inclined to place this as the earliest of the three farthings, but I think the dies were made by the same man. The m.m. is the same on all and the difference in date, if any, a year or so at the most. To my note in the *Riddles of Rye* I can only add that he was a Jurat from 1655 until his death in 1673.

W. 157. *Obv.* THOMAS . TUTTY . 1668 Inner circle;
within two men carrying a barrel slung on a pole.
m.m. Sexfoil rose.

Rev. IN . RY . IN . SVSSEX Inner circle;
within HIS HALF PENY in three lines. m.m.
Sexfoil rose.

Note. The only halfpenny of the series and about

$\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter. This is by far the rarest of all, and I only know of about half a dozen examples. Williamson, who was the first to describe it, wrongfully places an E after RY and spells PENY as PENEY. Possibly he never saw one.

B. 72. *Obv.* FOR . Y^E . CORPORATION Inner circle :
W. 153. within three-masted ship under sail. m.m.
Cinquefoil rose.

Rev. OF . RYE . 1668 Inner circle and within
Rye Church. m.m. Cinquefoil rose.

Note. While preparing this paper I have discovered two entries in the Corporation Books relating to these tokens, namely,

1668/9. Mch. 20. Pd. Willm. Oake for farthings & the bill. £3-1-6.

1669 Aug. 28. Recd. in farthings at twice from John Burket. £9-16-0

Worked out in farthings, the number passed to this date is 9,408, probably out of an issue of about 10,000, and the profit on these was £6 14s. 6d. How much of this was lost when, three years later, they had to be redeemed I have not yet discovered. They were struck in both copper and brass and are to-day the least rare of the series.

There is in the British Museum a specimen of a variety of this token, which has not, so far as I know, been described. There is an electrotype in the Rye Museum. The differences are:

- (a) Lettering larger. No stops except . 1668:
- (b) Less detailed ship with more sails set.
- (c) Less detail in church.

That none of the Rye tokens are common speaks well for the solvency of the tokeners and generally for the prosperity of the town, as it is evident that the common ones are those of bankrupt and defaulting issuers. They were probably struck in the Mint, at the lower end of Rye High Street.

Of the series issued in the latter years of the eighteenth century, Rye can only boast of one, and that only intended for private circulation. Dalton and Hamer, quoting Charles

Pye, state that it was intended as a private token for the late Mr. Tysson but that he did not approve of it. Thirty only were struck; the obverse die then broke. The reverse die was later used as an obverse, but we can hardly claim these varieties as anything to do with Rye.

D. & H. 36. *Obv.* Two sugar loaves, a chest inscribed FINE TEAS, and a pair of scales. G. BENNETT . GROCER . RYE . SUSSEX . 1796.
Rev. A Cypher G B . FOR . THE . USE . OF TRADE.

Note. I have never been able to find a grocer by the name of G. Bennett living in Rye at this date.

Before the end of the sixteenth century hop-growing was introduced into England, and hops are first mentioned as being grown in Rye in 1592. To those of you who are not familiar with this crop I would point out that its name is thought to be derived from the extreme fluctuations in price to which it is subject on the market. In 1817 they fetched £30 per cwt., and I have myself known them to fetch 30s. per cwt. only. As the price received fluctuated, year by year, so the price paid to the pickers had to fluctuate and was not fixed until the crop was picked and priced. The pickers, often imported from the slums of London, were very poor and ignorant and the problem arose as to how to keep account between the hop-grower and the hop-picker. Sometimes tally-sticks were used, but from, at any rate, the early eighteenth century the custom arose of each hop-grower cutting out, punching, striking, or casting hop tallies of zinc, lead, pewter, or brass, inscribed with a value in money or the measure in bushels to be credited to the picker. These were paid out as the picking proceeded, circulated in the neighbouring shops as money, and were all redeemed by the grower at the end of the picking in current money, at the price then fixed, the tallies being put back into a bag and kept until the following year.

The Parish of Rye is divided into two parts, the Borough, that is the Corporate Cinque Port Town, and the Foreign, that is the part which was retained by the Abbey of Fécamp in 1247. In the former there is only one farm where hops were formerly grown, namely Cadborough, but in the latter there are three, Watlands, Leasam, and Lea.

It is said that at one time you could walk out of Rye for ten miles without passing out of a hopfield; to-day the acreage has sunk to almost negligible quantities and you have to



CADBOROUGH FARM

1. John and Sarah
Barnes 1722-62



WATLANDS FARM

2. Charles Skinner
d. 1823



CADBOROUGH FARM

3. Thomas Brown
Lovett 1845



4. Samuel Selmes
1773-1852



LEASAM FARM

5. Major E. B.
Curteis d. 1879



6. Richard Ken-
ward 1862



7. James Winsor Lord
now aged 94

FIG. 2. HOP TALLIES OF RYE

(About $\frac{2}{3}$ actual size.)

look for them. No tokens are used to-day, though some of the issuers are still alive, and the invariable custom is to enter the amount of hops picked in the pickers' books, which are duly produced on pay-day.

The tallies of early date generally had only the grower's initials on one side and the amount of bushels picked or of money advanced on the other, and it is almost impossible to identify either the issuer or his parish, much less his farm. Those of later date, especially when times were good, and

they could be very good, were often of very artistic design, with the full name of the issuer, his farm and parish, and thus the collection and classification of these pieces has become a very interesting study.

The largest hop-grower in England was Jeremiah Smith, and he built and resided in a large house in the Foreign of Rye. Mr. Smith filled the office of mayor of Rye on six occasions and was an alderman and J.P. of the borough. One one occasion he entertained the Lord Mayor of London to a banquet at Rye, and within six months was in prison, after a conviction for perjury. The case was a political one, and on his receiving a pardon from the Queen, he was welcomed back to Rye with uproarious enthusiasm. He died in 1864 in great poverty.

My great-great-uncle, Samuel Selmes, was another large hop-grower and occupied 190 acres of Leasam Farm. He issued a token (Fig. 2, No. 4), which is a good example of the prosperous period. Other issuers for Leasam were Major Edward Barrett Curteis, the squire of Rye and at one time our Member of Parliament, whose tally is dated 1844 (Fig. 2, No. 5), and Richard Kenward, whose tally is dated 1862 (Fig. 2, No. 6). Cadborough Farm is represented by John Barnes, who occupied it from 1722 to 1762 (Fig. 2, No. 1), and Thomas Brown Lovett, 1835 to 1875 (his tally is dated 1845) (Fig. 2, No. 3). Watlands was occupied by Charles Skinner from 1781 to 1823, when he was succeeded by his son, George Skinner, who used the same tallies (Fig. 2, No. 2). These pieces between them give a good consecutive series.

The Richardson tallies were cast from bell-metal from Brede Church. Two issuers are still living to-day, namely, James Winsor Lord, now aged 94, whose tally is illustrated (Fig. 2, No. 7), and Edward John Bates. Bates was probably the last issuer of tallies.



UNPUBLISHED VARIETIES OF COINS AND TOKENS OF
THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS OVERSEAS

COINS AND TOKENS OF THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS OVERSEAS

SOME UNPUBLISHED VARIETIES

By H. ALEXANDER PARSONS

The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire, by James Atkins, published in 1889, is still the standard work on the subject, but the information it gives as been amplified in numerous sectional treatises issued since, both in this country and abroad.

Of the English monographs on the subject the most illuminating, to my mind, is the *Catalogue of the Coins and Tokens in the Museum of the Royal Mint*, by W. J. Hocking, issued in 1906. In this useful work will be found not only the numerous dates of coins issued since Atkins' work was published, up to the beginning of the present century, but also many additions to the lists of dates given by Atkins for coinages struck prior to 1889. The coins and tokens of Ceylon and the British copper tokens of the Straits Settlements and Malayan Archipelago have been exhaustively dealt with in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1895, and articles on the countermarked coins of the British West Indies and on the early Bombay pice of the British East India Company have appeared in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vols. i and xx respectively. The coins of Griqualand have been dealt with in a brochure from the pen of the present writer, published by Spink & Son in 1927, whilst Chalmers's *History of Currency in the British Colonies*, 1893, deals with the whole subject in its historical aspect.

In monographs issued abroad, Canadian and Australian coins and tokens have been frequently dealt with, since Atkins's book was written, by the numismatists of those great territories, whilst a more complete account of the coins of the West Indies based on the Spanish dollar has been published by the American Numismatic Society, 1915. The coins of Pulu Penang and Java (the latter being included in his work on *The Coins of the Dutch East Indies*, 1931) have been exhaustively dealt with by Sir John Bucknill, whilst the history of the coinages of the East India

Company has been written by Edgar Thurstan as an introduction to the catalogue of the coins in the Madras Museum, and this catalogue includes a number of varieties not appearing in Atkins' work.

After examination of all available sources of information on the subject I have, however, been unable to trace that adequate treatment or, in most cases, any notice at all has been given to the major varieties of coins and tokens which I now bring under notice, all of which were struck before the date of Atkins's work, although it should be mentioned that some are fairly well known through the sale catalogues in which they have, from time to time, appeared. I emphasize the fact that the pieces now being brought to the Society's notice are major issues or variants, as any complete account of all the unpublished varieties, major and minor, of colonial coins and tokens would involve a long list of variants in lettering, of edgings and of minor differences in the designs. A description of these small variants must be left for a thorough revision and reprint of Atkins's work. Furthermore, I can only speak of such major unpublished varieties as I have myself seen and handled, or which have come under my own notice. It may be that other students and collectors could, from their experience, add to the list. It should also be mentioned that certain pieces, not in the standard works, which are in reality trade tickets or checks pure and simple, have been omitted in deference to a strict adherence to my title.

Commencing with Europe, the regal coinage of Gibraltar is confined, by Atkins, to a description of the two-quart, one-quart, and half-quart pieces of the date 1842, although he mentions the pattern set of similar design dated 1861. Atkins and other writers on the colonial currency seem, however, to have been unaware of the pattern one-quart piece dated 1841 which, although very rare, has appeared in sales from time to time, notably in that of the collection of a nobleman—Count Ferrari—dispersed in London in March 1922, when no less than three specimens appeared. An example of this coin, from my own collection, is here shown, **Pl. I, 1**. These one-quart pieces of 1841 are undoubtedly the first assays for the regular coinage of 1842, which was sent out to the colony at the instance of the Governor who, in the previous year, had asked that a copper coinage of

£2,500 in quarts might be coined at the mint. The actual amount coined was, in fact, only £420 worth.¹

Close examination of the one-quart pieces dated 1841 shows that the final figure was struck over the date 1840, and as the obverse is exactly similar to the ordinary copper farthing of England of 1840 there seems little doubt that, when a trial was made for the coinage of 1842, the obverse die of the English farthing of 1840 was utilized and a figure 1 cut over the cipher.

An unpublished two-quart piece of 1841 was included in the Caldecott sale of June 1912. The half-quart pieces, undated, described in the above-mentioned Ferrari sale catalogue of 1922 as unpublished, which were no doubt assays of the same time as the one-quart pieces and two-quart pieces under discussion, were, in fact, fully described in 1906 by Mr. W. J. Hocking in his *Royal Mint Catalogue*, vol. i, and they cannot therefore have a place here as unpublished coins.

Before leaving the regal coinage of Gibraltar mention might usefully be made of the existence of two-quart and one-quart pieces of the date 1860, both of which were catalogued in the *Numismatic Circular* of 1933, p. 231. From these it is evident that there were serious intentions of issuing a further regal coinage for Gibraltar even earlier than 1861, the date of the patterns mentioned by Atkins. It is understood that these two-quart and one-quart pieces of 1860 are now in the Gibraltar Museum, a most suitable place for them.

The regal coinage of 1842 superseded the interesting local token currency which had been used in the colony from the early years of the nineteenth century. Of this token issue Atkins gives a comparatively complete list, but one variety of major importance, unknown to him, should have a place here. It is an example of the earliest two-quarts of the date 1802, on the obverse of which the sea in the foreground of the view of Gibraltar is considerably curtailed. The "Rock" itself is much varied in its details and the date is shown on the obverse, instead of on the reverse, in the large exergual space left by the curtailment of part of the seaboard. On the reverse, the design of the castle towers is engraved at the top part of the die, with the legend, VALUE 2 QUARTS,

¹ *Royal Mint Museum Catalogue*, vol. i, *Coins and Medals*, 1906, W. J. Hocking.

in three lines beneath. The usual key is accommodated between the A and L of the word VALUE. The normal type depicts the castle and key in the centre, surrounded by the legend, VALUE TWO QUARTS.

The above rare piece has not appeared in the more important sale catalogues, but one is in my collection and is here shown, **Pl. I, 2**. Possibly it was struck as a pattern, but rejected in favour of the published type.

A special currency for the Ionian Islands was first dated 1819 and it extended to 1862, the Islands being ceded to Greece in 1863. The types and dates of the coins issued were limited and Atkins is still fairly complete in his descriptions of them. He omits, however, to notice a number of patterns, of which the more important are a pattern five-oboli piece of 1819 with berries on the spray held by Britannia, and the initials, W. W., in the exergue; and a pattern piece of four-oboli, struck in 1821, and evidently of local workmanship. Specimens of both these pieces, although very rare, have appeared in various sales during the present century and one of each, from my own collection, is illustrated here, **Pl. I, 3 & 4**. The regular coinage consisted of denominations of the value of ten-oboli, five-oboli and two-and-a-half-oboli, and were produced in England from dies made by W. Wyon. They are dated 1819 and 1820, but they are not signed like the pattern five-oboli piece above mentioned. From the latter year to 1834 no further consignments of coins were dispatched to the islands. In the interval some local attempt appears to have been made to supplement the original issue of coins from England and, at the same time, to meet a change in the currency needs of the inhabitants, by the introduction of a different denomination, viz., a piece of four-oboli. The designs of the latter closely follow those of the English-made pieces, but on the reverse a large figure 4 appears in the exergue which, on the official coins, is blank.

Atkins mentions that there are varieties of the ten- and five-oboli pieces made by muling the reverses with the obverses of the Irish penny of George IV, and the Ceylon stiver of George III, respectively. This practice of mixing the dies of coins of different dependencies was a comparatively common one in the earlier days of our colonial currencies, although individual specimens of the coins so

produced are very rare, but I can bring under notice, **Pl. I, 5**, a further example of a similar character, the obverse being from the die of the Sierra Leone Company's penny of 1791, with the design of a lion couchant, surrounded by the legend, SIERRA LEONE COMPANY AFRICA, and the reverse being struck from the die of the one-forty-eighth rupee of Madras, struck in 1794 and 1797, with the design of the arms of the East India Company surrounded by its motto and the value. This coin could not have been struck earlier than 1794, although the date on the regular penny is 1791.

The possibility of dies of coins of widely separated dependencies being muled together is readily understood when it is realized that there was one common centre at various periods for the minting of the early colonial coinages, viz. London, Birmingham, or Calcutta, but it is not so easy to explain the reason for the issue of these anomalous pieces. It is improbable that they had official sanction, and the more likely explanation is that they are the results of a looser supervision over the output of the mints than obtains nowadays, which enabled some officials, without sanction, to have these muled types struck off as souvenirs or, possibly, to dispose of to collectors as rare varieties. Many eighteenth-century tokens were struck from mixed dies for the same reasons. A further variation of the same general character as this muling of dies, and no doubt explainable in the same way, is an example of an unpublished coin in my collection, and here shown, **Pl. I, 6**, made up of two obverses of the double pice of Bombay dated 1804, or four kapangs of Sumatra of the same date. An example of this coin appeared in the Caldecott sale of 1912, lot 74, where it was described as a pattern.

A more interesting example of apparent muling of dies is represented in a coin in the collection of Dr. A. N. Brushfield and here shown, **Pl. I, 7**. It also appears to have escaped reference in the standard works. Its description is as follows:

Obv. Crest of the East India Company with the motto of the Company, AUSPICIO REGIS ET SENATUS ANGLIÆ, and date, 1824, around.

Rev. An inscription, REÇU AU. BUR: DU TRES: surrounding the value, *pour 50 Sous*, the whole within an outside border of zigzag pattern.

The obverse of this rare piece has been shown by Sir John Bucknill to be that of a pattern one-third cent for Pulu Penang.¹ This pattern is referred to by Atkins under miscellaneous Indian coins, No. 213, p. 191.

The 50 sous of Mauritius, the reverse of which forms the reverse side of the unpublished piece under notice was (with the 25 sous) struck in Calcutta in 1822, and only in that year, and it may be that two years later, in 1824, there was some intention of renewing the coins with an obverse design of more typically English character. If this view can be accepted the piece would belong to the category of official assays for a projected coinage. The designs are not only suitable, whereas in the other mules referred to they are largely inappropriate, but the coin is exceedingly thick, and is struck in copper, instead of base silver, the proper metal. The intrinsic value of the ordinary base silver 50 sous of 1822 was $6\frac{1}{2}d$.² The implication is that our coin is, in this instance, an officially issued trial piece struck on a thick copper blank.

One of the more complete of our separate monographs on the colonial currencies is that on the "British Copper Tokens of the Straits Settlements and Malayan Archipelago", by H. Leslie Ellis.³ In it the author mentions, as No. 8 of the series, a coin which he suggests is a pattern four- or five-kapang piece of Susu, a town in Sumatra. It is a very large piece, compared with the rest of the series, and it bears, on the obverse, a boldly executed figure of the Malay cock in high relief, and on the reverse, the place of issue in Malay characters, together with the date of issue, 1804, in European figures. Specimens of this coin are generally represented in the larger colonial collections, and I have seen examples which show obvious traces of having been in circulation. One such is in the collection of Dr. A. N. Brushfield. So far as I can ascertain, the only reason for calling these pieces patterns is their rarity, and certainly they are very seldom met with, but it is not apparent why a small place in Sumatra should have had patterns struck in anticipation of a coinage when more important places in the same general area had no such preliminary emissions. Further,

¹ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xx, 1924, No. 4.

² *A History of Currency*, p. 362, Chalmers.

³ *Num. Chron.*, 1895, p. 135.

this place of Susu had no separate coinage if one excludes the pieces under notice. My explanation is that they form part of a small emission of coins or tokens for Susu which, on account of their large size and heavy weight, were only for a short time in use, and they were then recalled or driven out of circulation. The specimen mentioned by Ellis is stated by him to weigh 180 grains. The two in my collection and here shown, **Pl. I, 8, 9**, weigh $98\frac{1}{2}$ and 179 grains respectively. Dr. Brushfield's example and the one in the British Museum also weigh only about 98 grains. Apparently Ellis was unaware of pieces so light as to weigh only 98 grains. The average weight of the numerous kapangs described by Ellis is 32 grains each, and he mentions also two-kapang pieces weighing over 60 grains. I suggest, therefore, on the weight test, that the pieces under notice form part of a coinage of three-kapangs and six-kapangs, and that they should have a place in any work on colonial coins as such.

Before leaving the Malay States, mention should be made of a piece in my collection and here shown, **Pl. I, 10**, which was unnoticed by Ellis and appears to be a trial for the ordinary one-kapang piece, with cock to right, and the inscription "The Land of the Malays". It is uniface, like the first copper cent of Pulu Penang, and it was overstruck on a halfpenny of George III.

A small but interesting series of coins was struck by the African Company for use on the Gold Coast in 1796. On the reverse of the coins appears the shield of arms, with supporters and crest, of the Company, surrounded by an inscription, **FREE TRADE TO AFRICA BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT** [*sic*] 1750. The coins, comprising ackey, half-ackey, quarter-ackey, and one-takoe piece, are fully described by Atkins, who adds that silver, pewter, and bronze proofs exist of all the pieces named. In addition, I can now bring under notice and illustrate here, **Pl. II, 1**, a pattern trial piece for the reverse of the half-ackey of 1796 struck on a large pewter blank, no doubt an unique piece which has fortunately escaped destruction after serving its purpose of showing how the coins would appear. The reverse ultimately adopted for the approved coins was, however, engraved rather closer than the pattern under notice, the inscription being brought nearer to the shield of arms forming the central design.

The early currency history of Canada is similar to that of many other of our colonies, i.e. the people had to make shift with a variety of foreign pieces, cut coins, and more or less badly executed local tokens or imitations of them, and in a memoir of the date 1837 "On the Miserable State of the Currency of the British North American Provinces"¹ it is stated: "The miserable coppers which are now in circulation, consist of base coin and tokens of all descriptions, and frequently pieces of sheet copper which have never been impressed, and do not weigh more than a fourth or a half of the weight of an English halfpenny." It was just previous to this date, in about 1836, that the Bank of Montreal came to the rescue of the people and imported from Birmingham a quantity of "Bank tokens" the first issue of which comprised the well-known series of "Bouquet" tokens, to be followed, in 1837, by an even better series of that truly Canadian token on one side of which was engraved the arms of Montreal and on the other a typical French Canadian farmer. This in turn was followed, in 1838, by the handsome series of tokens on which the "farmer" design was replaced by a "corner" view of the bank's premises, to be subsequently displaced, in 1842, by a "front" view of the bank. The above several series of fine tokens issued by the Bank of Montreal came to an end for all practical purposes in 1844, and there Atkins leaves them, but in 1845 the Bank of Montreal obtained an authorization to import a further supply of copper coin to the extent of £1,200.² For some unrecorded reason the coins were not issued, although dies were prepared, at least for the halfpenny, and two specimens were struck off them. One of these extremely rare and interesting tokens is, or was, in the collection of Mr. Thomas Wilson, Clarence, Ontario, whilst the other is in the cabinet of the present writer, and is here illustrated, **Pl. II, 2.**

With the above exceptions dated 1845, the whole of the "front" view Bank of Montreal tokens were issued in the two years 1842 and 1844, the specimens dated 1837 being rare "mules" with an obverse of the previous Canadian farmer type and the Bank Building type, but it is evident

¹ *Canadian Archives*, vol. xxiv, p. 96.

² *Trans. of the Royal Society of Canada*, Second Series, 1903-4, vol. ix, pp. 254-6.

that there was some idea of an issue in 1843, to be coupled with a change of type, since unique patterns of the penny and halfpenny are in existence, although unknown to Atkins, of the date 1843, with an obverse composed of a coroneted bust of Victoria surrounded by the inscription VICTORIA DEI GRATIA REGINA with date, 1843, beneath, as on the New Brunswick coinage, and on the reverse the usual "front" view of the Bank of Montreal.

McLachlan¹ published the halfpenny and stated that the only specimen known is in the cabinet of the Library of Parliament, Ottawa. The solitary example of the penny, hitherto unknown, is in the collection of the present writer, and is here illustrated, **Pl. II, 3.**

On the other hand, the penny of ordinary type, dated 1844, No. 160 in Atkins, was not struck, the coinage that year being confined to halfpennies.

The issue of bank tokens, relinquished by the Bank of Montreal in 1844-5, was continued by the Quebec Bank in 1852 and the Bank of Upper Canada in 1850, 1852, 1854, and 1857. In the latter year an Act was passed by the Legislature of Canada (*vide* Chalmers, p. 188) under which Act Government transactions were to be calculated in dollars and cents and the Government undertook the duty, long shirked by it, of providing a supply of official coins. These were first struck in 1858 and comprised copper cents and silver twenty-, ten-, and five-cent pieces. An extremely rare pattern uniface cent in yellow bronze, unknown to Atkins and McLachlan,² marks this official issue of coins. It is from a reverse die only, but its fellow obverse, also uniface, is number 5 in McLachlan.² The design of the unpublished reverse consists of the legend ONE CENT 1858, in three lines, surrounded by a scroll-like border made up of maple leaves and seed-pods. It was struck also on a smaller flan. The border adopted for the current cents consisted of a simpler one of maple leaves strung one after the other round the edge of the coin.

A specimen of this unpublished uniface cent appeared in the Montagu, Murdoch, and Caldecott collections, and another was in the Count Ferrari sale. One is also in my collection and is here illustrated, **Pl. II, 4.**

¹ *The Copper Currency of the Canadian Banks, 1837-57.*

² *Patterns struck at the Royal Mint for Canada, 1908.*

The change to the decimal system was not welcomed in Canada at the time and very little of the coinage instituted in 1858 was put into circulation. Indeed, there appears to have been some idea of a return to the pence issues, for in my collection, and here illustrated, **Pl. II, 5**, is a pattern half-penny in yellow bronze with an obverse of the usual type, but a reverse consisting of Britannia seated to right on a shield, with a trident in the left hand, and surrounded by an inscription, **HALF PENNY MDCCCLIX**, separated by rosettes. This pattern piece was also unknown to Atkins and McLachlan.

An unusual Canadian token, apparently unique, which appeared in the Caldecott sale of June 1912, lot No. 395, should have a place here. It was struck on a flan which was Sheffield plated and bears on the obverse a Canadian canoe, beached on the edge of a lake of rippling water. On the reverse appears the letters **RDI**, with **C°** underneath, evidently the initials of the issuer. The illustration in the catalogue above mentioned shows it to have been of the cent size and in my collection, and here illustrated, **Pl. II, 6**, is a similar unpublished piece but only half the size. Nothing appears, so far, to be known of these pieces, but they have rather an archaic appearance which suggests an issue at the beginning of the nineteenth century, or even earlier.¹

Before leaving the early tokens of Canada reference might usefully be made to an important, though hitherto unnoticed, variety of the "Ships, Colonies, and Commerce" halfpenny, numbered 232 in Atkins. This is a very common token which had a large circulation in Canada in the period prior to the introduction of the Bank of Montreal Bouquet tokens in 1836. The reverse depicts a ship in full sail over a stretch of sea, and there are numerous die varieties made

¹ Since the above was written Professor A. S. Morton, of Saskatoon, has suggested that the letters on the reverse may signify the Robert Dickson Indian Company. Colonel Robert Dickson was a fur trader with headquarters at Niagara and Michilimackinac, and Brigadier-Gen. E. A. Cruikshank, of Ottawa, informs me that Dickson traded with the Indians in the vicinity of the Wisconsin and Missouri rivers from about 1790 until 1812, that from 1812 until 1815 he was engaged in the British military service as superintendent of the Western Indians, and that he died about 1823.

Although there is no written evidence to connect the tokens under discussion with Colonel Robert Dickson, the type of the obverse, an Indian canoe on rippling water, and the initials on the reverse, form strong presumptive evidence that the tokens were issued by him for trading purposes and that the period of their use was between 1790 and 1812.



2



2



3



1



3



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6



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8



9



10



up of the different forms of the sails of the ship, or the ship's position in the waves of the sea, and in the size and form of the letters. In addition, however, there is a rarer major variety consisting of the substitution of the star-spangled banner of the United States for the usual Union Jack which floats out from the stern of the ship. Most of the large collections have, no doubt, a specimen or two of this scarce major variety but, in addition there is, in my own collection and here shown, **Pl. II, 7**, a still more rare example which bears, in the exergual space beneath the waves on the left side, the initials of the engraver or issuer, W & B. N.Y., for W & B of New York. The bulk of these tokens are believed to have been made in England, but some, no doubt, were manufactured in Montreal, and the variety now brought under notice shows that they were made also in New York, U.S.A.

Without describing them in detail, Atkins refers, under Nova Scotia, to a series of pattern regal coins in bronze which are, however, more fully described by McLachlan in his account of the patterns struck for Canada at the Royal Mint. Amongst these patterns are a cent and a half-cent, dated 1861, the reverse of which bears a crown encircled by a heavy close wreath of roses and rose leaves, a design which McLachlan suggests was not adopted for the reason that the trailing arbutus or mayflower, previously adopted as the emblem of Nova Scotia, was not represented in the wreath. Colour is certainly given to this suggestion by the fact that on the authorized cents and half-cents, issued in the same year, the roses are mixed with mayflowers. In this series of patterns, No. 8 of McLachlan is a description of one of the cents on which the last figure of the date is wanting. This cent is also specifically referred to by Atkins; but neither Atkins nor McLachlan appear to have been aware of the existence of the corresponding half-cent, now in my collection, and here shown, **Pl. II, 8**, with the same peculiarity that the last figure of the date is omitted.

The coinage of the West Indies in the earlier colonial periods was composed mainly of Spanish currency, sometimes cut into divisions for smaller change, and in a great many cases counterstamped with the initials of the various islands, or by some other suitable device, to restrict the circulation of the coins to the areas for which they were countermarked. Atkins is most incomplete in his description of these early

countermarked coins, but the gaps have been filled to a great extent, firstly, by Caldecott, in volume i of the *British Numismatic Journal*, and, secondly, by Howland Wood in his monograph entitled *The Coinage of the West Indies*, published by the American Numismatic Society in 1915. In the latter work a passing reference is made to bits and half-bits struck in brass for circulation on the island of St. Eustatius, on the reverse of which appears the name of Herman Gossling. No adequate description of these rare pieces appears, however, to have been published, and fuller attention might therefore usefully be drawn to them, more especially as their date, 1771, places them amongst the very earliest of our colonial token currencies. The island was occupied by the French in 1781, but prior to this date it was in English hands.

The token currency issued under the English régime may be described as follows:

1. *Obv.* Goose, grazing in grass, surrounded by the inscription, GOD BLESS ST EUSTATIUS & GOV^N.

Rev. The value, 1 B^T, surrounded by his inscription, HERMAN GOSSLING. 1771.

2. *Obv.* As the previous piece, but struck on a smaller flan.

Rev. The value, $\frac{1}{2}$ B^T, with the same inscription as before.

The choice of a goose, or gosling, as the main device seems to be a play upon the name, Gossling, of the issuer.

A specimen of the half-bit appeared in the Murdoch sale, lot 565, and an example of the bit was in the Caldecott sale, lot 468.¹ Specimens of the two denominations are also in my collection and are here exhibited, **Pl. II, 9, 10**, and a pair was advertised in the *Numismatic Circular* some years ago.

In bringing to an end this list of some of the more important unpublished coins and tokens struck for, or in, the British dominions overseas, may I express the hope that it will prove useful in connexion with a badly needed revision of Atkins's work on the subject.

¹ There is also a specimen of the bit in the British Museum.

BRITISH MEDALS SINCE 1760

By COL. M. H. GRANT

WITH the abrupt and untimely closure of the British Museum's magnificent folio, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, the one authoritative catalogue of British medals ends. Its editor suggested that the ensuing series would prove alike too uninteresting and too numerous to be worthy or capable of a census. The first statement being utterly untrue and the second nearly so, it is deplorable that the record of 177 years of our medals has remained almost a complete lacuna, though in number these exceed their predecessors by four times, whilst in interest and quality—*pace* Mr. Grueber—they yield nothing to them, and in "nationality" they thoroughly eclipse the largely foreign-made series described in the *Medallic Illustrations*. Not that they have been altogether neglected. In 1886 Warwick Wroth attempted just such a catalogue as I submit here¹; in the following year Grueber himself began to make reparation by the issue of a list so burdened with detail that Methusaleh himself could scarcely have hoped to complete it, which accordingly died with its author at the letter H.² Both compilations are totally incomplete, first because they include personal medals only—a mere fraction of the output—and omit even numerous medals of this class; secondly because both are alphabetical instead of chronological. Wroth's list, indeed, is rendered practically useless, even so far as it goes, by the omission of the names of the medallists. I write this in no spirit of ingratitude to researchers who at least displayed interest in a subject which one of them had already pronounced "uninteresting", but merely to demonstrate that their labours in fact scarcely scratched the surface of the subject. Therefore, courting in my turn the animadversions of some future and fuller medallic historian, I have thought it worth while to attempt to codify the medals of this neglected period before they become utterly submerged by numbers or through forgetfulness and loss. To this last very many are

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1886, pp. 285-320.

² *Ibid.*, 1887, pp. 245-72; 1888, pp. 59-94, 249-84; 1890, pp. 51-98; 1891, pp. 65-104, 377-412; 1892, pp. 227-46, 300-23.

peculiarly liable because they are ephemeral in allusion and their materials are non-precious. The main obstacle to complete success is, of course, after such long neglect, their numbers. Perhaps it is actually impossible now to discover every medal struck since 1760. It should not be so, and would not be had we been blessed with a succession of Wroths and Gruebers to record the current information as it accrued. But we have not been so blessed, and we have only them, and certain regional historians, such as Fraser for Ireland,¹ Cochran-Patrick for Scotland,² Welch for the City of London,³ Weber for some nineteenth-century foreigners working in England,⁴ with others for War,⁵ Naval,⁶ and Masonic⁷ medals, to welcome as numismatic atolls in the ocean of a century and three-quarters of prolific medallurgy.⁸ *Conjunctim et divisim*, they leave the sea practically uncharted; and it is in the hope of providing fuller sailing directions that the subjoined catalogue has been undertaken.

It is but a bare catalogue, the mere bones of a *corpus*. Including as it will some 7,750 medals⁹, any description, let alone illustration, would have swelled the work to unprintable dimensions. Such sumptuous tomes as the *Medallic Illustrations* must remain dreams of the past and regrets of the present in this impoverished epoch.

Of this catalogue it only remains to be noted:

(1) It includes all types of medallic works—Medallions, whether cast or struck, Plaquettes, some Badges, and Tickets.

¹ W. Fraser, "The Medallists of Ireland and their Work", *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, 4th Ser., vol. vii, pp. 443–66, 608–19, vol. viii, pp. 189–208, 313–26; *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 5th Ser., vol. iii, pp. 7–26.

² R. W. Cochran-Patrick, *Catalogue of the Medals of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1884.

³ C. Welch, *Medals Struck by the Corporation of London, 1831–1893*, London, 1894.

⁴ R. Parkes Weber, *Medals and Medallions of the Nineteenth Century, relating to England, by Foreign Artists*, London, 1894.

⁵ D. Hastings Irwin, *War Medals and Decorations*, 4th edition, London, 1910; H. Taprell Dorling, *Ribbons and Medals*, 7th edition, with supplement, London, 1919–20.

⁶ Marquis of Milford Haven, *British Naval Medals*, London, 1919.

⁷ W. T. R. Marvin, *The Medals of the Masonic Fraternity*, Boston, 1880; G. L. Shackles, *The Medals of British Freemasonry*, Hamburg, 1901.

⁸ In addition there have been monographs on the work of particular artists, to which references are given in L. Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, London, 1904–30.

⁹ Adding this to the numbers described in *Medallic Illustrations* prior to 1761, a total of 10,360 British medals up to date is reached (January 1938).

(2) It does not include Tokens, which, though often fine and always interesting, are of a category and purpose different from medals, and have in any case been amply dealt with by others.

(3) Recurring medals, i.e. those struck annually or periodically, such as Schools' or Societies' awards, are entered once only, unless the design or artist is altered; they are then re-entered as fresh pieces.

(4) In consequence of the impossibility of dating certain medals, except approximately by the period of the medallist or of the subject, some little search amongst contiguous dates may be necessary to discover a given piece, and before deciding it to be lacking.

The compiler will gratefully welcome any information as to medals omitted, incorrectly dated, or unassigned to medallists, and about new medals as they appear. He intends to incorporate such material either in an Addendum or, if in time, in the list itself as it appears. Finally he hopes to append an Index.

M. H. GRANT.

GEORGE III

1760-1820

1760

Geo. III, Accession	<i>T. Pingo</i>	William Harvey	<i>R. Yeo</i>
" " "	<i>After " "</i>	Peter I of Russia	<i>B. Scott</i>
Geo. III Proclaimed	<i>J. Kirk</i>	Empress Anna of Russia	"
" " "	<i>After " "</i>	Math. Soc. (Newton)	(Engraved medal)
" " "	<i>I. Van Noost</i>		
" " "	<i>R. Sun J. Colibert</i>	Ed. VI, Christ's	<i>I. A(braham ?)</i>
" " "	<i>R. Heart Anon.</i>	Hospital	
and Altar		'Order of Fire'	<i>Anon.</i>
Geo. III and Q. Carolina (sic)	<i>J. Colibert</i>	Architects' Badge	"
Geo. III, Indian Chiefs (Montreal)	<i>D. C. Fueter</i>	British Museum Badge	"
Geo. III, Arts Protected	<i>T. Pingo</i>	St. Andrew, Loudoun and Moira	"
Lord Amherst	"	Gregorian Arms (2)	"
		(Several medals of 1760 are included in 'Medallic Illustrations')	

1761

Geo. III, Coronation (2)	<i>L. Natter</i>	Geo. III and Q. Charlotte	<i>H.</i>
" " "	<i>J. Colibert</i>	" " "	<i>B. G.</i>
Q. Charlotte " (2)	<i>L. Natter</i>	" " " (24)	<i>Anon.</i>
" " "	<i>J. Colibert</i>	Ld. Granby	<i>Anon.</i>
Geo. III and Q. Charlotte	<i>T. Ward</i>	Bishop Hoadley, Death	<i>J. Kirk</i>
" " "	<i>(J. Kirk ?)</i>	Pondicherry Taken	<i>T. Pingo</i>
" " "	<i>J. Kirk</i>	Belle Isle (Calonesus)	<i>(J. Kirk ?)</i>
" " "	<i>J. Abraham</i>	Taken	
" " "	<i>G. M. Moser</i>	Belle Isle (Calonesus) Taken	<i>J. Kirk</i>

1762

Geo. III and Q. Charlotte (2)	<i>Anon.</i>	Geo. III, Victories	<i>Anon.</i>
Q. Charlotte (Oval)	<i>(J. Kirk ?)</i>	Peace	<i>J. G. Holtzhey</i>
Q. Charl., Birth of P. Geo.	"	Glasgow High School,	(Struck in 1762 1775)
" " " "	<i>L. Natter</i>	Wm. of Wykeham	<i>R. Yeo</i>
Geo. III and Q. Ch., Birth of P. Geo.	<i>T. Pingo</i>	Parker, Mayor of Preston	<i>Lightbourne</i>
Geo. P. of Wales (4)	(Medalllets)	Catch Club	<i>T. Pingo</i>

1763

Geo. III, Indian Chiefs	<i>D. C. Fueter</i>	Princess of Hesse, R Arms	<i>I. I. E.</i>
Louis XV, Peace	<i>F. Marteau and</i>	Prince Frederick (2)	<i>Anon.</i>
" " "	<i>J. C. Roettier</i>	Lord Hertford's Arms, Jeton	"
" " "	<i>Du Vivier and Roettier</i>	John Wilkes, N. Briton	(Medalllets)
Peace of Paris	<i>J. G. Holtzhey</i>	Social Club, S. Carolina,	<i>Anon.</i>
Peace with Britain	<i>C. N. Roettier</i>	Two shake hands	
Morro Castle Taken	<i>T. F. Prieto</i>		

1764

Geo. III, Indian Chiefs	<i>D. C. Fueter</i>	Stanislas of Poland Crowned	<i>T. Pingo</i>
P. Geo. and P. Fredk.	<i>T. Pingo</i>	Sir Wm. Browne (Cambridge)	"
Prince Frederick, Bishop of Osnaburg (2)	"	E. of Northumberland, B. 1766	<i>J. Kirk</i> <i>J. Powell</i>

1765

Geo. III, Brunswick	<i>J. E. V. Claus</i>	Princess Caroline	<i>J. G. Holtzhey</i>
Horticultural		D. of Cumberland, Death	<i>J. Van Noost</i>
Q. Charlotte, Brunswick	"	Rev. A. P. Bobineau, Death	<i>Anon.</i>
Horticultural		Rev. T. Stukely, Stonehenge	"
Geo. III, Marquess of Granby	<i>T. Pingo</i>	Notts. and W. Riding Soc., Improvement of Agric.	<i>T. Pingo</i>

1766

Geo. III, Indian Chiefs	<i>D. C. Fueter</i>	Lord Camden, B. Justice seated	<i>J. Kirk</i>
Christian VII of Den- mark and Pcess. Caroline	<i>J. H. Wolff</i>	Lord Camden	(Medallet)
Card. Duke of York	<i>F. Cropanese</i>	Lord Clive,	<i>J. Van Noost and C. G.</i>
Pitt, Earl of Chatham	<i>T. Pingo</i>	Death	
" " "	(Unsigned)	D. of Northumb., Alnwick	<i>J. Kirk</i>
" " "	<i>I. W.</i>	Soc. of Architects, (French	"
" " "	<i>Anon.</i>	Lodge 'L'Immortalite',	
" " "	(4)	Strand)	
Lord Camden	<i>T. Pingo</i>	Freemasons, Exeter	"

1767

Q. Caroline of Denmark	<i>J. H. Wolff</i>	Van Dyck, (Ivory?)	<i>Vanderhagen</i>
Sir I. Newton,	(<i>F. Cropanese?</i>)	Cromwell, "	
'Veronae'		Royal College of Surgeons	<i>T. Pingo</i>
Rubens, (Ivory?)	<i>Vanderhagen</i>	Britannia	<i>G. M. Moser</i>
		5th Foot Regimental Award	<i>Anon.</i>

1768

Geo. III, Royal Academy (2)	<i>T. Pingo</i>	Jo. Wilkes, Election	<i>I. W.</i>
" 'Good Old Days' (Medallet)		" "	<i>Anon.</i>
Christian VII of Denmark	<i>L. Pingo</i>	" " (4)	(Medallets)
" " "	(2) <i>J. Kirk</i>	J. Curtis Executed	(Engraved)
" " "	<i>J. Westwood</i>	A. Malone, Westmeath	<i>T. Pingo</i>
Christian VII and Princess Caroline	<i>D. I. Aldzer</i>	Eliz. ('Ann') Cleypole	<i>J. Kirk</i>
Jo. Wilkes, Election	<i>Jas. Kirk</i>	St. Saviour's Sch., Southwark	<i>J. Kirk</i>
" "	<i>Anon.</i>	Medal for Best Shot	<i>I. W.</i>

1769

Geo. III, Ld. Chetwynd's	(R. Mint)	Shakespeare Comm.,	<i>J. Westwood</i>
Med.		Stratford	
Sheffield Music Soc., Handel	<i>Anon.</i>	Card. Duke of York, Vice- Chancellor	<i>Anon.</i>

1770

Geo. III, R Salus Populorum	<i>J. Kirk</i>	Wm. Beckford (to R)	<i>J. Kirk?</i>
Lord Chetwynd's 2nd Med.	<i>Anon.</i>	Rev. G. Whitefield, Death	<i>I. W.</i>
Geo. III, Wallbrook School	"	" " "	<i>C. W.</i>
Marquess of Granby (to L)	<i>L. Pingo</i>	" " "	<i>T. Holloway</i>
" " (Medallet)	"	" " "	<i>T. Pingo</i>
" " (to R)	<i>L. Pingo</i>	" " "	(2) <i>Anon.</i>
Wm. Beckford (Full Face)	<i>J. Kirk?</i>	J. Bell's Science Medal	<i>Anon.</i>

1771

Geo. III, Duke of Grafton's	<i>J. Kirk</i>	Jo. Stackpoole, Death (oval)	<i>Anon.</i>
Cambridge Medal		Marischal Coll., Aberdeen	<i>J. Milton</i>
Geo. III (Pub. Wedg-wood, Bentley)	<i>W. Hackwood</i>	Wm. III (Blair) College, Virginia	<i>T. Pingo</i>
Lord Rokeby, Prim. of Ireland	<i>J. Kirk</i>	Calcutta Hounds, 'To (Medallion)	
G. F. Handel	(<i>J. Pingo?</i>)	Capt. W. Hunt'	
Jo. Harrison, Armagh Lib. (A Mule)	<i>J. Kirk</i>	Freemasons	<i>J. Kirk</i>

1772

Geo. III, R Royal Arms	(Medallet)	David Garrick, (to R)	<i>L. Pingo</i>
Augusta, Pcess. of Wales (2)	<i>T. Lyng?</i>	" " (to L)	<i>J. Kirk</i>
Ch. III (Stuart) and Queen Louisa	<i>Anon.</i>	Glamorgan Agric. Soc.	"
Queen Louisa	<i>Anon.</i>	Salford, Lancs., Agric. Soc.	<i>T. Pingo</i>
Capt. Cook, 'Resolution	<i>B. F. (=</i>	Marine Soc.	<i>Anon.</i>
and 'Adventure' (The Otaheiti Medal)	<i>W. Barnett or M. Boulton)</i>	Oxford Freemasons, Grand Lodge	<i>J. Kirk</i>
Capt. Cook, 'Resolution', and 'Adventure'	<i>J. Westwood</i>	Garter Star	<i>Anon.</i>
		Loyal Britons	"

1773

Geo. II, Geo. III, Q. Charlotte, Duke of Gloucester, Duchess of Gloucester, Dch. of Cumberland, Lord Camden, Lord Chat-ham, Lord Granby, Cromwell, W. Beck-ford, D. Garrick, J. Wilkes	<i>Series by J. Kirk, for the 'Sentimental Magazine'</i>	Queen Charlotte, Medical Soc.	<i>J. Kirk</i>
		Sir J. Reynolds	"
		T. Snelling	"
		"	<i>L. Pingo</i>
		"	<i>G. R(awle?)</i>
		Dr. A. Fothergill	<i>J. Vining</i>
		Dr. R. Mead	<i>L. Pingo</i>
		Irish-American Soc.	<i>T. Pingo</i>
		Bricklayers' Co.	<i>J. Kirk</i>
Geo. III, Rebellion, St. Vincent	<i>G. M. Moser</i>	R. Coosens	<i>Anon.</i>

1774

Geo. III, Religion	<i>J. Kirk</i>	William Hunter	<i>E. Burch</i>
3rd Duke of Atholl, Death	"	Voltaire	<i>J. Kirk</i>
Lord Granby	"	Cutlers' Co., Arms	"
Sir J. Fielding (oval) (2)	"	Distillers' Co., Arms	"
Jo. Wilkes, Lord Mayor (2)	<i>Anon.</i>	Royal Humane Soc.	"
Inigo Jones	<i>J. Kirk</i>	Grand Hotel, Covent Garden	<i>J. Kirk</i>
J. Locke (reissue)	<i>Jas. Roettier</i>	Music (oval)	"
P. Mulman and wife	<i>T. Pingo</i>		

1775

Geo. III, the Mint	<i>J. Kirk</i>	Spence's Plan	<i>Anon.</i>
Duke of Atholl, Freemason	"	Wits Magazine, B. Sphinx	<i>Philipps</i>
Lord North	"	Glasgow High Sch. (see 1762)	<i>Anon.</i>
Wm. Penn	<i>L. Pingo</i>	Calendar	"
D. A. Bracci, R. Soc.	<i>I. Z. Veber</i>		

1776

Geo. III, R. Royal Arms	<i>Anon.</i>	Beverley Brothers	<i>Anon.</i>
Lord Bathurst (oval)	"	Washington at Boston	<i>B. Du Vivier</i>
" " Cook's Office	<i>J. Kirk</i>	Dumfries Agric. Soc.	<i>J. Kirk</i>
David Hume, Death	<i>L. Pingo?</i>	Classic Head	<i>(J. Pingo?)</i>
David Garrick (3)	<i>J. Kirk</i>	Medal	<i>Carteaux</i>
Matthew Prior	"		

1777

Geo. III	(Medallet)	B. Franklin, F.R.S., Privy	<i>Anon.</i>
Lord Mansfield	<i>J. Kirk</i>	Council Enquiry	
Lord Camden, R. Justice	"	John Smart	<i>J. Kirk</i>
standing	"	Chev. d'Eon ('Madame')	<i>J.</i>
Lord Bathurst	"	Battle of German Town	<i>J. Milton</i>
Gen. Wolfe	"	(Chew's House)	
Gen. Gates, Saratoga	<i>N. M. Gatteaux</i>	Blundell's School	<i>L. Pingo</i>
Admiral Keppel	<i>Anon.</i>	Order of Shakespereans	<i>J. Kirk</i>

1778

Geo. III, Indian Chiefs	<i>Anon.</i>	J. Bentham and	(French)
Queen Charlotte	"	Washington	
Lord Chatham	<i>J. Kirk</i>	Needle Makers' Co.	<i>J. Milton</i>
Lord Chesterfield	"	Richmondshire Agric. Soc.	<i>L. Pingo</i>
Admiral Keppel	<i>Truels Lyng</i>	Friendly Bros. of St. Patrick	<i>J. Kirk</i>
"	<i>J. H.</i>	Daniel Solander	<i>G. L.</i>
" " (2)	(Medallet)	Calendar	<i>J. Powell</i>

1779

Admiral Keppel (Pinchbeck Type)	Stony Pt. taken by	<i>N. M. Gatteaux</i>
Capt. Cook, Death (2)	<i>Anon.</i>	Wayne
Cath. II, Battle of Chesme	"	Paul Jones attacks Scotland
Peter Clare, Surgeon	<i>T. Holloway</i>	Ed. VI, Christ's Hospital
Rhode Island Taken	(Dutch)	Life Saving, Northants
		<i>Anon.</i>

1780

Geo. III, Rutland Rifles	?	Freemasons, Grand Order	<i>L. Pingo</i>
Queen Elizabeth of York	<i>D. F. Loos</i>	Freemasons Hall	"
Ld. Geo. Gordon, No Popery	<i>Anon.</i>	Ed. VI, Christ's Hospital (2)	<i>Anon.</i>
Neutrality, Anglo-	<i>A. von Baerll</i>	Cabbage Society	<i>Anon.</i>
Amer. War	(=Baer ?)	Dublin School (oval)	"
Virginia, N. America	<i>Anon.</i>	Student Laureated	"
Lord Eglinton's Coronet	"	Rewards of Merit (12)	(Medallets)
Royal Soc., Copley Medal	<i>L. Pingo</i>	Bishop Crowning Boy	<i>Anon.</i>
Farriers' Company	<i>Anon.</i>	Calendar	<i>J. Powell</i>

1781

Geo. III, American War	<i>Anon.</i>	Adml. Rodney, St. Eustatius	<i>Anon.</i>
Duke of York in	<i>C. E. L. Hagen</i>	(10)	
Harz Mountains		Gen. J. Howard,	<i>B. Du Vivier</i>
Duke of York in	<i>S. (=G. B. Stach)</i>	Battle of Cowpens	
Harz Mountains		Gen. Wm. Washington,	"
Admiral Van der Wint,	(Dutch)	Battle of Cowpens	
War with England		Independence of U.S.A.	<i>A. Dupré</i>
Battle of Dogger	<i>S. (=G. B. Stach)</i>	Lord George Gordon,	<i>Anon.</i>
Bank		Trial	
Battle of Dogger Bank	<i>A. Van Brae</i>	Fredk., Prince, Bishop of	<i>H.</i>
"	<i>J. G. Holtzhey</i>	Osnaburg (2)	
"	<i>I. M. Lagemann</i>	J. Norris, Divinity Med.,	<i>L. Pingo</i>
"	(2)	Cambridge	
"	(oval)	Christ's Hospital, Stock's	<i>Anon.</i>
"	"	Prize	
" Cadiz (On Dutch side)	"	Calendar	<i>J. Powell</i>
Battle of Cadiz (On	<i>J. G. Holtzhey</i>		
Dutch side)			

1782

Independence of U.S.A.	<i>J. G. Holtzhey</i>	Ld. Heathfield, Gibraltar	<i>I.V. (=Veber)</i>
"	(Dutch)	"	<i>J. P. Droz</i>
Lord Rodney, H.M.S.	(Medallets)	Hanoverian Brigade	<i>L. Pingo</i>
'Sandwich', 'Formid-		Rev. W. Romaine, Bible	<i>Anon.</i>
able', &c. (4)		Boy Instructed, 'Discite	<i>L. Pingo</i>
Ld. Heathfield, Gibraltar	<i>Terry</i>	Hinc'	

1783

Geo. Prince of Wales, Majority	<i>Anon.</i>	Peace of Versailles	<i>J. J. Oexlein</i>
American Liberty, Minerva	"	" "	<i>N. Gatteaux and B. Du Vivier</i>
Brit.-American Congress (2)	"	Peace, Belgium	<i>I. M. Lagemann</i>
Ld. Heathfield, Gibraltar	<i>J. C. Reich</i>	Peace of Versailles	<i>Anon.</i>
Gibraltar, Plan	<i>L. Pingo</i>	Ld. Thurlow (Medallion)	<i>R. Stewart?</i>
Gib., Peace	<i>Anon.</i>	Dr. Wm. Hunter	<i>Anon.</i>
Gib., Artificers' Medal	?	Joseph Priestley	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>
Gib., Loss of R. George (Dutch)	(Dutch)	Sir C. Wren, St. Paul's	<i>G. D. Gaab</i>
Louis XVI, Peace	<i>B. Du Vivier</i>	Society of Industry	<i>J. Milton</i>

1784

W. of India War (E. Ind. Co.)	?	Capt. Cook, Memorial	<i>L. Pingo</i>
G. F. Handel Commem. (2)	<i>Anon.</i>	Vincent Lunardi	<i>Anon.</i>
Adml. de Suffren, Trincomalee	<i>A. Dupré</i>		

1785

Geo. III, Gottingen Univ.	<i>E. Burch</i>	David Latouche	<i>W. Mossop</i>
" Liberty of U.S.A.	<i>L. Pingo</i>	J. W. Fletcher	<i>M. and P.</i>
T. Ryder	<i>W. Mossop</i>	Joseph Banks	<i>G. L.</i>
W. Deane	"	Beaver Club, Hudson's Bay	<i>Anon.</i>

1786

Lord Charlemont, Royal Irish Acad.	<i>W. Mossop</i>	Dr. Wm. Hunter in wig (to L)	<i>Anon.</i>
Sir Wm. Hamilton (Medallion)	(<i>A. Selvi?</i>)	" " and	<i>J. Milton</i>
Dr. Wm. Hunter	<i>E. Burch</i>	G. Fordyce	
		B. Franklin	<i>A. Dupré</i>
		Downpatrick Agric. Soc.	<i>W. Mossop</i>

1787

Geo. III, R Lion, Wolf, Church	<i>Anon.</i>	Co. Down Horse Breeders	<i>W. Mossop</i>
Geo. III, R Royal Arms (2)	"	Hampstead Philomvestigists	<i>Anon.</i>
Med. Soc., J. Fothergill	<i>L. Pingo</i>	Soc. and Sunday Schools	
Adam Smith	<i>Anon.</i>		

1788

Wm. III-Geo. III, Centenary of Revolution	<i>B. Jacobs</i>	Wm. III, 1688, Centenary of Revolution	<i>Anon.</i>
Wm. III-Geo. III, Centenary of Revolution	<i>Anon.</i>	Wm. III, Centenary of Revolution	<i>Davies</i>
Wm. III-Geo. III, Centenary of Revolution	<i>C. I.</i>	Wm. III, Centenary, Ireland (to R)	<i>W. Mossop</i>
Wm. III, Abdication of King James	<i>Anon.</i>	Wm. III, Centenary, Ireland (to L)	" ?

Wm. III, Centenary, Ireland (Equestrian)	<i>W. Mossop</i>	Geo. III, Ireland	<i>C. I.</i>
Geo. III, Insanity, (Pub. W. A. & Co.) Recovery		Card. K. Henry IX, (Stuart) (2)	<i>Gio. Hamerani</i>
Geo. III, Gottingen Univ. 2nd. Med.	<i>E. Burch</i>	Hon. J. and Mrs. Beresford Abbey Church Restored	<i>W. Mossop</i> <i>R. B.</i>
Geo. III, Recovery	<i>C. I.</i>	Lichfield Cathedral Restored	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>
„ Cheltenham (2)	<i>C. I.</i>	R. Milit. Club, Jamaica (Wm. IV)	<i>J. Milton</i>
„ „ (2)	<i>R. W.</i>	Neptunean Soc.	<i>Anon.</i>
„ Worcester (3)	<i>I. H.</i>	A. Merlin, Temple of Music	<i>J. Milton</i>
„ „	<i>W. A.</i>		

1789

Geo. III, Insanity and Recovery (2)	<i>J. P. Droz</i>	Geo. III Plymouth	<i>D.</i>
Geo. III, Recovery	<i>J. Milton</i>	„ Weymouth	<i>C. I.</i>
„ „	<i>W. A. & Co.</i>	„ Southampton, &c., (2)	<i>Anon.</i>
Geo. III, Recovery, Dr. Willis	<i>C. I.</i>	„ Ireland (2nd Med.)	<i>C. I.</i>
Geo. III, Recovery, Cheltenham	<i>Phipson and Hancock?</i>	Geo. Prince Regent (2)	(Medallet)
	<i>Pub. S. Moreau</i>	Wm. Pitt	<i>C. I.</i>
Geo. III, Recovery, St. Paul's	(<i>L. or J. Pingo</i>)	Lord Thurlow and Pitt	<i>Anon.</i>
Geo. III, Recovery, City Arms	<i>Anon.</i>	Lord Thurlow	<i>Anon.</i>
Geo. III, Recovery	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>	C. J. Fox	<i>C. I.</i>
„ „ (3)	<i>C. I.</i>	„ (2)	<i>Pub. W. Lutwyche</i>
„ „	<i>J. L.</i>	Viscount Pery	<i>W. Mossop</i>
„ „	<i>I. D.</i>	Lord Rokeby, Primate	„
Geo. III, Recovery, Welsh Medal	<i>J. Milton</i>	Dr. H. Quin	„
Geo. III and Queen Charlotte (2)	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>	Rev. J. Wesley (3)	<i>Anon.</i>
Geo. III and Queen Charlotte	<i>C. I.</i>	William Alexander	<i>W. Mossop</i>
Queen Charlotte	<i>Anon.</i>	R. B. Sheridan	<i>Anon.</i>
Geo. III	<i>Jas. Davies</i>	Isaac Perrins, Pugilist	„
„ Bath	<i>D.</i>	Thos. Johnson, Pugilist	„
		Wm. III, Orange Society	<i>J. Brush</i>
		Soc. for Free Debate, Birm., & Plato	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>
		Birm. Caledonian Soc.	<i>Anon.</i>
		Freemasons, Grand Lodge	<i>Anon.</i>
		Calendar	<i>Jas. Davies</i>

1790

Geo. III, & R. Arms (Counter)		D. of Atholl's Agric. Med.	<i>J. Milton</i>
„ Manchester Club	<i>D. I. P.</i>	Bristol Merchant Adventurers	<i>Anon.</i>
Church and King Club, Manchester	<i>?</i>	Sheffield Lit. Soc., Homer and Virgil	<i>Conquest</i>
Wm. III, Ireland	<i>Pub. G. Brown</i>	Masonic Medal	<i>J. Milton</i>
Jo. Howard, Death	<i>W. Mainwaring</i>	Freemasons	<i>Anon.</i>
Sir H. Fermoy (Medical)	<i>?</i>	Bruce Castle School (2)	„
Wm. Hey, Leeds	<i>H. S.</i>	Gower's School	„
D. Mendoza, Pugilist	<i>Anon.</i>	Girls' Sch., Shakespeare's Walk	„
John Foster	<i>Hill</i>	'Fuimus'	„
Geo. Washington	<i>Brooks</i>	Calendar	<i>J. Davies</i>

1791

Duke of York, Marriage	<i>F. Loos</i>	Col. Noel, Rutland	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>
" " "	<i>Stierle</i>	Fencibles	
Duke and Duchess of York	<i>W. Mainwaring?</i>	Capt. Cook's Arms	<i>Anon.</i>
Ld. Howard of Effingham	<i>J. Milton</i>	Rev. Caleb Evans	<i>W. Mainwaring</i>
Rev. J. Wesley	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>	Catherine Macaulay	<i>J. Colibert</i>
" "	<i>Anon.</i>	John Hunter	<i>J. Tassie</i>
" "	<i>W. M.</i>	Ward and Mendoza, Pugilists	<i>W. Mainwaring</i>
Selina, Countess of Huntingdon	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>	Castlebar	<i>W. Mossop</i>
Selina, Countess of Huntingdon	<i>K. and N.</i>	Tyrone Regiment	"
Selina, Countess of Huntingdon	<i>W. M.</i>	Ball-Firing, Highgate (Hon. Art. Co.)	<i>Anon.</i>
Selina, Countess of Huntingdon	<i>Anon.</i>	Sedition, Priestly	"
C. J. Fox		Handel Choral Fund (3)	"
		St. George (Badge)	"

1792

Geo. III	<i>C. Taconet</i>	Robert Strange, Liberty of Conscience (2)	<i>G. Z. Veber</i>
Geo. Prince of Wales	<i>W. Barnett</i>	Soc. Prom. of Religion and Virtue	<i>W. Mossop</i>
Lord Cornwallis, Seringapatam	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>	Sheffield Constitutional Soc. (2)	<i>Anon.</i>
1st Mysore War (E. Ind. Co.)	<i>?</i>	County Fire Insurance	"
Murder of Gustavus III	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>	Cicero	<i>J. Milton</i>
Robert I, Jas. I, II, III, IV, V, Q. Mary (2), all of Scotland (8)	<i>J. or W. Tassie</i> (See 1799)		

1793

Geo. III, Board of Agriculture	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>	T. Spence, Britannia Freeth, the Birm.	<i>Anon.</i>
Geo. III	<i>C. Twigg and I. S. G.</i>	Poet	"
D. of York, Valenciennes	<i>W. Whitley</i>	Pub. W. Lutwyche	"
Duke of York	<i>W. M(ainwaring?)</i>	Jacobins (2)	<i>Anon.</i>
Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette (2)	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>	Queen's Bays	"
Marie Antoinette	"	Naval Architecture	<i>L. Milton</i>
Louis XVI	<i>W. M(ainwaring?)</i>	Essex Agric. Soc.	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>
Marie Antoinette	"	Swapping Mallard, All Souls, Oxford	<i>Anon.</i>
Louis XVII	"	Trinity Coll., Dublin	<i>W. Mossop</i>
Lord G. Gordon	<i>Anon.</i>	Dublin Society	<i>J. Brush?</i>
T. Paine (2)	"	Friendly Bros. of St. Patrick	<i>W. Mossop</i>
Priestley and Stanhope	"	Calendar	<i>Jas. Davies</i>

1794

Geo. III, Indian Chiefs (Medallet)	<i>Miller</i>	Ld. Howe, 1st June	<i>W. Barnett</i>
Geo. III, Corsica	<i>C. Twigg</i>	" " "	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>
		" " (2)	<i>W. M(ainwaring?)</i>

Lord Howe, (oval) (2)	<i>Anon.</i>	J. Priestley in America (2)	<i>W. Phipson</i>
" " (2)	"	" " "	<i>Anon.</i>
Lord Cornwallis	<i>W. M(ainwaring?)</i>	Thos. Cooper (Medallion)	<i>J. Tassie</i>
" "	<i>Anon.</i>	Penryn Volunteers (Dun-	"
Camden Memorial	<i>W. Mossop</i>	stanville Arms)	"
C. J. Fox, the War	<i>W. Whitley</i>	London Corresponding Soc.	<i>Anon.</i>
"	<i>B. Jacobs and C. James</i>	Louis XVI	"
Pitt, Fox, 'Oddfellows'	<i>C. James</i>	France (Bare Foot) (Satirical Medalllet)	"
Wm. Pitt, America	<i>Anon.</i>	Award to Officers by	<i>I. N. Wirt</i>
T. Spence, Persecution	<i>C. James</i>	Emperor Franz II	"
Erskine and Gibbs,	<i>J. Milton</i>	Slave, R Adam and Eve	<i>C. James</i>
T. Hardy's Trial	"	Dublin Univ. (2)	<i>Anon.</i>
Erskine	<i>Anon.</i>	Dublin Univ. Science	<i>W. Mossop</i>
T. Hardy, Acquittal (4)	"	and History	"
J. H. Tooke, T. Hardy,	"	Preston Art Repository	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>
J. Thelwall, Acquittal (2)	"	Lancaster Bridge	<i>Anon.</i>
Rex v. Eaton	"		

1795

Geo. III, Navy	<i>Anon.</i>	Admiral Hood, Lord	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>
Queen Charlotte	"	Bridport, Isle Groix	"
Geo. III, Frogmore	<i>J. P. Droz</i>	Rev. W. Romaine, Death	<i>Anon.</i>
" Pitt and Fox,	<i>C. James</i>	" " "	<i>J. Milton?</i>
'Oddfellows' (2nd medal)	"	" " "	<i>B. Jacobs</i>
Q. Charlotte, Frogmore	<i>M. Boulton</i>	Stanhope Juries	<i>W. Whitley</i>
" (2)	<i>Anon.</i>	D. I. Eaton, Trial	<i>Anon.</i>
Geo. Prince of Wales,	<i>J. Milton</i>	T. Spence, R Padlock	"
Marriage	"	" R Crown, Mitre	"
P. of Wales, Marriage	<i>W. Whitley</i>	D. of Bedford, Alms to Beggar	"
Pcess. Caroline and	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>	French Rev., (Satirical)	<i>W. Whitley</i>
Prince Geo., Jugate	"	Suffolk Yeomanry	<i>Anon.</i>
(wrongly dated 1797)	"	Order of Orange and Blue	<i>W. Mossop</i>
Prince Geo. and Caroline,	<i>Terry?</i>	Colgate Medal, Tutamen	<i>J. Milton</i>
Marriage (2 hearts)	"	Ackerman's Medal	<i>G. F. Pidgeon</i>
Pcess. Caroline, Marriage (2)	(Medalllet)	Wm. of Wykeham	<i>J. Milton</i>
" " " (2)	<i>C. Twigg</i>	Three Blockheads (2)	<i>Anon.</i>
Prince and Princess	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>	An Archer	<i>Anon.</i>
of Wales, Frogmore	"	Calendar	<i>Jas. Davies</i>
D. of York, Peace Desired	(Medalllet)	"	<i>Chas. Twigg</i>

1796

R. Soc. Med. (Count	<i>J. Milton</i>	Peace Obelisk	<i>F. W. Loos</i>
B. Rumford's)	"	J. Askins, Ventriloquist (3)	<i>Anon.</i>
'Execution' of Wm. Pitt	(Medalllet)	R. Biddulph, Hereford, Bull	<i>A. S.</i>
Admiral Gardner, Election	<i>Anon.</i>	"	<i>J. Milton</i>
Sir F. Burdett, Flogging	<i>Anon.</i>	S. Garbett (token?)	(<i>J. Hancock?</i>)
Three Men Hanging	"	Sarah Gretton (unfinished)	<i>Anon.</i>
Man Gagged	"	Sir H. Trollope,	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>
Reform Society	"	Helvoetsluys	"

British Medals since 1760

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Gen. Claude Martin, E.I.C.	<i>A. McKenzie</i>	Dr. Barret's School	<i>W. Mossop</i>
T. Seckford, Wood- bridge	Pub. R. Loder	Hereford Agric. Soc.	<i>Anon.</i>
Edward Jenner (2)	<i>F. W. Loos</i>	Cabbage Society	"
Manchester Infirmary	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>	Private Theatre	<i>W. Mossop</i>
and Liverpool	Pub. Seward	Stonehenge, Druids	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>
Exchange (2)		Wearmouth Bridge	<i>Anon.</i>
		King's College, Camb.	<i>B. Jacobs</i>
		Calendar	<i>Jas. Davies</i>

1797

Geo. III, Naval Thanks- giving	<i>J. Milton</i>	J. Jervis, Earl St. Vincent	<i>T. Wyon Sen.?</i>
Geo. III, British Senate	<i>Anon.</i>	Sir J. Jervis, St. Vincent (3)	<i>Anon.</i>
" Dutch Prizes	"	Battle of St. Vincent (3)	"
" Emblems	<i>Anon.</i>	Gov.-Gen. Sir J. Shore	"
Geo. P. of Wales and Caroline, Marriage	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i> (See 1795)	Volunteers, Scotland,	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>
Prince of Wales	(Medallet)	Best Shot	
Duke of York	"	Falmouth Volunteers	<i>Anon.</i>
Archduke Charles	<i>Anon.</i>	Norwich Association	"
Geo. Washington,	<i>T. Halliday</i>	Dr. Parr, Great Heads	"
Resignation (2)		3 Loggerheads	"
Sir R. Onslow,	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>	Maria Cosway	<i>Anon.</i>
Camperdown		Sir E. Godfrey, Murder,	<i>J. Milton</i>
Admiral Duncan,	" "	1678	
Camperdown		Sir F. Burdett, Coldbath	<i>Anon.</i>
Admiral Duncan, Camper- down (3)	<i>Anon.</i>	Prison	
Battle of Camperdown	(French)	Q. Elizabeth School, Penrith	<i>Anon.</i>
Admiral Duncan	<i>Anon.</i>	Salford Agric. Soc.	<i>T. F.</i>
Sir J. Jervis,	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>	St. Michael's, Wood Street	<i>B. Jacobs</i>
St. Vincent		Bantry Bay	<i>W. Mossop</i>
		Medal	<i>P. H. Leader</i>
		Calendar	<i>P. Kempson</i>

1798

Geo. III, Victories	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>	Battle of Colooney	<i>J. Brush</i>
" Minorca	<i>J. Milton</i>	Scottish Troops in Ireland	<i>Anon.</i>
Nelson, Davison's	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>	Volunteers, Scotland	<i>A. G. & Co.</i>
Nile Medal		Ld. Henniker's Volunteers,	<i>Anon.</i>
Nelson, the Nile	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>	Worlingworth	
" "	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>	Birm. Loyal Assoc.	<i>J. S. Jorden</i>
" "	<i>Ponthon</i>	Birm. Association, Gallows	<i>Anon.</i>
" "	(portrait) (4) <i>Anon.</i>	French and Scotch Lodge,	"
Gen. C. Martin (2)	<i>A. McKenzie</i>	Sincere Friends	
" "	<i>Anon.</i>	French Invasion, Rafts	"
Sir J. B. Warren,	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>	Earl of Chesterfield	<i>J. Milton and</i>
Tory Island		(After Dassier)	<i>G. Bauert</i>
Sir J. B. Warren,	<i>T. Wyon Sen.?</i>	Calendar	<i>Jas. Davies</i>
Tory Island		"	<i>P. Kempson</i>

Sir R. Walpole	<i>J. Milton and</i>	Masonic School	<i>Anon.</i>
(After Dassier)	<i>G. Bauert</i>	Hafod Friendly Society	"
M. Boulton (in French)	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>	Wrighton and Burring-	<i>M. Boulton</i>
J. P. Kemble	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>	ton Agric. Society	
"	<i>J. Westwood</i>	Carpenters' Co.	<i>J. Milton</i>
Hon. H. Cole	<i>Anon.</i>	'Ancient Britons'	<i>Anon.</i>
Wm. III, Orange Club	"		

1799

Geo. III	<i>C. James</i>	Napoleon in Egypt	(<i>T. Wyon Sen. ?</i>)
Geo. III	<i>J. Colibert</i>	J. S. Munden, Actor	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>
Geo. II (sic)	<i>J. Colibert</i>	A. M. Storer, Antiquarian	<i>J. Milton</i>
Lord Nelson (3)	<i>Anon.</i>	Yeomanry	<i>Anon.</i>
Nelson enters	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>	Ld. Henniker's Volunteers,	"
Naples (2)		East Ham	
Admiral Lord Howe	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>	Thorp Arch. School (2)	"
Earl Spencer	" "	Miss Edwards' School,	"
Lord Abercromby, Helder	<i>Anon.</i>	Wembley	
Point		Sedgley Park School	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>
Sir Syd. Smith, Acre	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>	Lichfield Cathedral	" "
" "	<i>Anon.</i>	Welshman in Coracle	<i>J. Milton</i>
Archduke Charles	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>	" God Speed the	"
Ferdinand IV Restored	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>	Field	
Seringapatam, E. I. Co.	" "	Welshman, God Speed the	"
Gen. A. Suwarrow, Italy	" "	House	
" " Adda	<i>Anon.</i>	Freemasons	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>
William Pitt	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>	Soc. of Gardeners, Aberdeen	<i>Anon.</i>
Geo. Washington	<i>J. Westwood</i>	Calendar	<i>P. Kempson</i>

W. Tassie exhibited at R.A. casts of Scottish Kings (by J. Tassie?). See 1792.

1800

Geo. III, Attempt	<i>P. Kempson and</i>	C. J. Fox	<i>P. Kempson and</i>
on Life	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>		<i>J. G. Hancock</i>
Geo. III, Attempt	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>	British in Holland	<i>J. Holtzhey</i>
on Life (3)		Union with Ireland	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>
Geo. III, English	<i>G. V. Bauerts</i>	Irish Farming	<i>W. Mossop</i>
Industry		" Ordnance	"
Geo. III, Monopolies	<i>A.</i>	Matthew Prior	<i>J. Milton</i>
Duke of York	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>	Samuel Tyssen	"
Nelson, Return	<i>P. Kempson and</i>	R. Greene, Lichfield	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>
" "	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>	Drayton Agric. Soc.	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>
" "	<i>Anon.</i>	Stafford Agric. Soc.	" "
Lord St. Vincent's	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>	N. Devon Agric. Soc.	<i>Anon.</i>
'Ville de Paris'		Navan Agric. Soc.	"
Ld. St. Vincent, 2nd Med.	" "	Man of Ross Hortic. Soc.	<i>S. W.</i>
Ld. Clive (Powis), Agric. Med.	<i>Anon.</i>	Glasgow University	<i>J. Milton</i>

Dublin University, Globe	<i>Anon.</i>	St. James' Union	<i>Anon.</i>
Exeter School	"	Friendly Soc., 'Fide et Amore'	"
Mrs. Gwillim's School	"	Vintners' Co., City Broker's	<i>J. Milton</i>
Moseley School	"	Badge	
Rev. Dr. Thomason's School,	"	Calvin Orange Lodge	<i>G. Brown</i>
S. Kensington (2)	"	'Fidelis et Constans'	<i>Anon.</i>
Pritchard's School, Shrewsbury	"	(Orange Club)	
Thame School	"	'Unitas Fratrum'	"
Trentham School (3)	"	Uncharitable Monopoly	<i>Anon.</i>
Whitechapel Charity School	"	Famine and Capital	<i>Anon.</i>
Fort Wm. College, India	"	Steam Engine	"
R. Dublin Soc. (2 oval)	<i>W. Mossop</i>	New Century	<i>C. H. Küchler</i>
St. Andrews Benevolent Soc.	<i>Anon.</i>		

1801

Geo. III, Recovery	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>	Peace of Luneville	<i>C. H. Küchler</i>
" Peace	" "	" "	<i>J. P. Droz</i>
" Prosperity	" "	" " R Soldier,	<i>Anon.</i>
" Union with	" "	Ship, Egypt (2)	(Medallets)
Ireland		Battle of Copenhagen	<i>H. (= Hancock)</i>
Geo. III, Union with	<i>C. H. Küchler</i>	Battle of Copenhagen	<i>F. W. Loos</i>
Ireland (2)		Nelson, Copenhagen	<i>Anon.</i>
Geo. III, Hudson Bay	" "	Lord Grey	<i>L. Lunderberg</i>
Co. Arms.		Napoleon	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>
Abercromby, Battle	<i>G. F. Pidgeon</i>	Union with Ireland; Time	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>
of Alexandria		Jo. Colet, St. Paul's Sch.	<i>G. F. Pidgeon</i>
Abercromby, Death	<i>H. (= Hancock?)</i>	Dr. Wm. Cullen	<i>J. G. Hancock?</i>
" "	<i>Anon.</i>	(Medallion, 17 in.)	
Lord Keith and	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>	J. Steevens, Science	?
Abercromby		Ld. Henniker's Volunteers,	<i>Anon.</i>
Peace of Amiens	<i>Kettle</i>	E. Ham (2nd medal)	
" "	"	York Female Benefit	"
" " (2)	(French)	Protestant Confed.	"

1802

Geo. III, Peace of	<i>C. H. Küchler</i>	Napoleon, Peace	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>
Amiens (2)		(Eccleston's Med.)	
Peace of Amiens	<i>H. and L.</i>	Napoleon (Brit. Medallet)	<i>E. Gatteaux</i>
" " Napoleon	<i>R. Dumarest</i>	Napoleon (British Medal)	<i>B. Andrieu</i>
" " "	<i>Lageman</i>	Geo. III, Manch. and	<i>C. H. Küchler?</i>
" " Thanks-	<i>J. Hancock</i>	Salford Volunteers	
giving (2)		Duke of Bedford, Death	<i>J. Milton</i>
Peace of Amiens	<i>W. H.</i>	Duke of Bedford, Bath	"
" "	<i>J. J. Neuss</i>	and W. Agric.	
" "	<i>Anon.</i>	Duke of Bedford	<i>J. G. Hancock?</i>
" "	(Medallet)	(Medallion, 17 in.) ¹	
Peace, St. Paul's	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>	D. of Bedford, Death	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>
Cornwallis, Peace of	" "	Duke of Kent,	<i>T. W(yon Sen.?)</i>
Amiens		Gibraltar	

¹ An example of this in the British Museum; see Cullen, 1801.

P. of Wales and D. of Clarence, Freemasons Benefit Soc.	<i>J. G. Hancock</i> <i>Anon.</i>	True Britons Society Design for Medal	<i>Anon.</i> <i>J. Cruikshanks</i>
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1803

Brit. Leopard destroys Peace of Amiens	<i>R. V. Jeuffroy</i>	J. Birch, Notts. Election	<i>Anon.</i>
Patriotic Fund, Britannia and Dragon	<i>Anon.</i>	Boydell's Shakespeare and Plays	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>
Lord Hawkesbury, (Liverpool)	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>	Shakespeare, Periods	" "
H. Addington, Lord Sidmouth	" "	J. T. Beaumont's Sharpshooters (probably 1841, q.v.)	<i>S. Clint</i>
Geo. Washington	" "	Bancroft's Hospital	<i>Anon.</i>
Wm. Temple (actor)	" "	Children's Medal	<i>P. Wyon</i>
R. Orchard	<i>J. Milton</i>	The Westerns, Edin. Castle	<i>Anon.</i>
Coke, Notts. Election	<i>H. (= Hancock?)</i>	Calendar	<i>Kempson and Kindon</i>

1804

Napoleon in England? ¹	<i>R. V. Jeuffroy</i>	Master W. H. Betty	<i>T. Webb</i>
Napoleon in England? ²	<i>J. P. Droz after R. V. Jeuffroy</i>	" "	<i>W. (= Webb)</i>
Napoleon as Hercules v. Lion	<i>J. P. Droz</i>	" "	<i>Retter</i>
Binding British Leopard (2)	"	" "	<i>J. Westwood</i>
Binding British Leopard	(Unsigned)	(Undraped)	
" " "	"	Master W. H. Betty	<i>Kettle</i>
R Hanover		(and 1 Anon.)	
Napoleon's Blockade ³	<i>R. V. Jeuffroy</i>	Brit. Rom. Cath. Coll. in Paris	<i>N. M. Gatteaux</i>
Camp at Boulogne v. England	<i>Jeuffroy and Le F. Jaley</i>	Coll. in Paris	
Fair Wind to England	<i>L. Brenet</i>	Brit. Rom. Cath. Coll. in Paris	<i>B. Andrieu</i>
Napol. Alarm of Engl.	<i>J. B. Merlen</i>	Loge de Triple Unité écossaise	<i>Anon.</i>
Volunteer Medal (Keir and Tynron)	<i>Harper</i>	W. Bromwich Amicable Soc.	"
Wm. Pitt, in Queue	<i>Anon.</i>	Wortley Agric. Soc.	"
Czar Alexander I	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>	Fascies	"
J. Priestley (2)	<i>T. Halliday</i>	Horticultural Society	<i>G. F. Pidgeon</i>
Master W. H. Betty, (Draped) (2)	<i>J. Westwood</i>	Orsett College	<i>Anon.</i>
		Earl of ?, Ploughing Medal	"
		Fire at St. Heliers	"
		Calendar	<i>Kempson and Kindon</i>
		Charity	<i>W. S. Mossop</i>

¹ Frappee a Londres.² Frappé (sic) a Londres.³ Altered from no. 1. See 1806.

1805

Geo. III and Queen Charlote Royal Visit	<i>Anon.</i>	Ld. Nelson, Trafalgar	<i>A. Abramson</i>
Geo. III, Trafalgar	<i>J. Westwood</i>	" "	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>
Ld. Nelson, " (2)	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>	(Turton's)	
" "	<i>P. Wyon</i>	Ld. Nelson, Trafalgar	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>
		(Boulton's) (2)	

Ld. Nelson, Trafalgar	<i>P. Wyon</i>	Geo. Washington	<i>T. Webb</i>
" Victories	<i>Anon.</i>	Sir Sydney Smith	"
" Death (A Victory)	"	George Cooke	"
" "	<i>I. Porter</i>	Capt. Coram	<i>I. Porter</i>
" "	<i>T. Halliday</i>	Rev. J. Wilkinson	<i>J. Westwood</i>
" "	<i>K. & S.</i>	Miss Mudie (2)	<i>W.</i>
" "	<i>B. P.</i>	Orange Refugees	<i>D. F. Loos</i>
" "	<i>H. F.</i>	Warwick Agric. Soc.	<i>Anon.</i>
" " (2)	<i>W. (= Webb?)</i>	Oxford Benefit Soc.	<i>Anon.</i>
" " (9)	<i>Anon.</i>	St. Edmund's College	<i>P. Wyon</i>
Adml. Collingwood, Trafalgar	<i>Anon.</i>	Stockport Sunday School	<i>Anon.</i>
England watches Battle of Austerlitz (2)	(French)	Stockwell School	"
Geo. III, Birm. Church	<i>T. Webb</i>	Geo. III, Scriptures	"
Napoleon 1st Consul etc.	<i>Anon.</i>	Calendar	<i>Kempson and Kindon</i>

1806

Geo. III, B. of Maida	<i>G. F. Pidgeon</i>	C. J. Fox, Death	<i>I. W.</i>
Lord Nelson	<i>J. C. Reich</i>	Ch. IV of Spain,	<i>P. G. Arrabal</i>
Lord Thurlow, Death	(Medallion)	Buenos Ayres Taken (2)	
Wm. Pitt, Death	<i>J. G. Hancock</i>	Blockade of England	<i>R. V. Jeuffroy</i>
" " (2)	<i>T. Webb</i>		<i>and B. Andrieu</i>
" "	<i>P. Wyon</i>	John Parish's Sojourn in	<i>Anon.</i>
" "	<i>T. Halliday</i>	Hamburg	
" "	<i>T. W. Ingram</i>	Rev. D. Rowland, & Elijah	<i>Anon.</i>
" "	<i>I. W.</i>	W. Roscoe, Liverpool	"
C. J. Fox, Death (R)	<i>T. Webb</i>	W. Roscoe	<i>P. Wyon</i>
" " " (Pub. Thomason,	after Webb)	Col. J. Bolton, Liverpool	<i>Anon.</i>
" " (L)	<i>W. Whitley</i>	Scotch Mother Masonic	<i>Le F. Jaley</i>
" "	<i>P. Wyon</i>	Lodge, Paris	
" " (2)	<i>Anon.</i>	Holy Family, Buenos Ayres	<i>Anon.</i>
		Druids	<i>B. Patrick</i>

1807

Geo. III	<i>C. H. Küchler</i>	Whitelock's Defeat	<i>P. G. Arrabal</i>
Geo. III, St. Paul's	<i>T. Halliday</i>	At Buenos Ayres	
Wm. Wilberforce	<i>T. Webb</i>	Society of Arts	<i>G. F. Pidgeon</i>
Wilberforce Elected (2)	<i>Anon.</i>	T. Weigall	<i>Anon.</i>
Abolition of Slavery	<i>G. F. Pidgeon</i>	Inst. of Agriculture	<i>W. S. Mossop</i>
Bristol Humane Soc.	<i>Anon.</i>	" "	<i>T. W. Ingram</i>
Lascelles for Ever (2)	"	Cambacères Mast. of	<i>Le F. Jaley</i>
Wardle, Okehampton	"	Scottish Lodge, Paris	
Lord Milton (2)	"	Livourne, Scottish Lodge	<i>Anon.</i>
George Osbaldeston	"	(Napol.)	
Union with Scotland,	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>	Temple Arms, Silence	<i>Anon.</i>
Centenary	<i>and T. Martyn</i>		

1808

Geo. III, Christ's College,	<i>I. Phillip</i>	Prince of Wales, Covent	<i>P. Rouw</i>
Cambridge (3)		Garden Theatre	

Lord Nelson, 'Crimson Oaks' (Masonic)	<i>B. Patrick</i>	Mercers' Co.	<i>G. F. Pidgeon</i>
Sir H. Lowe surrenders Capri (Murat)	<i>Le F. Jaley</i>	Atlas Assurance Co.	<i>Anon.</i>
Soc. for Improvement of Agriculture	?	Roscrea Sunday School	"
Agriculture Seated	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>	St. Patrick's School	"
		Cambridge, New School	"
		Camberwell Charity School	"
		Dunkeld Bridge Opened	"

1809

Geo. III, Jubilee	<i>J. B(arber?)</i>	Col. G. L. Wardle, M.P.	<i>P. Wyon</i>
" " (2)	<i>P. Wyon</i>	" " " (2)	<i>Anon.</i>
" " "	<i>T. W(ebb)</i>	M. Boulton, Obsequies ¹	<i>C. H. Kuchler?</i>
" " (3)	<i>T. Halliday</i>	M. Boulton, Death,	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>
" " "	<i>W. S. Mossop</i>	B 'Farewel'	
" " (Medallet)	<i>Kettle</i>	M. Boulton, Death	<i>Anon.</i>
" " "	<i>J. Westwood</i>	M. Boulton, Death	<i>P. Wyon</i>
" " "	<i>M. and P.</i>	(Medallion)	
" " (3)	<i>Anon.</i>	Lt. Pearce, Life-saving	<i>T. Wyon Jun.</i>
" " with Queen	"	Dom Joao of Port.	<i>G. F. Pidgeon</i>
Charlotte, Jugate (2)		Cayenne	
Geo. III and Christian VII of Denmark	<i>G. V. Bauert</i>	O(ld) P(rices) Riots (3)	<i>Anon.</i>
George, P. of Wales	<i>(J. Barber)</i>	Colefax Academy	"
Lord Nelson, Statue	<i>P. Wyon</i>	Cambridge Sunday School	"
Sir John Moore, Death	"	Windsor School	"
" " "	<i>Anon.</i>	Scottish Lodge, Paris	"
Gen. Sir W. Carrol	<i>T. J. Wells</i>	Minerva and Mercury	<i>P. Wyon</i>

¹ For G. F. Pidgeon's two medals see 1814; for Galle's see 1827.

1810

Geo. III, Jubilee (Bob Wig)	<i>P. Wyon</i>	M. Boulton, Death Soho	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>
Geo. III, Jubilee	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>	M. Boulton, Death,	" "
" " "	<i>T. Webb</i>	B Trafalgar, obliterated	
" " "	<i>W. S. Mossop</i>	William Penn	<i>I. Porter</i>
" " "	<i>T. Halliday</i>	V. Lunardi, Aeronaut	<i>P. Wyon</i>
" " "	<i>Kettle</i>	G. V. Bauert (Unique)	<i>J. Milton Jun.</i>
" " (3)	<i>Anon.</i>	Rodriguez-Bourbon-Mauritius	<i>Anon.</i>
Wellington	<i>T. Wyon Jun.</i>	(E. Ind. Co.)	
" " "	<i>T. Webb</i>	Henry Street School (oval)	<i>Anon.</i>
Sir Fr. Burdett	<i>(P. Wyon?)</i>	Yardley, Hastings School	"
" " "	<i>(Medallet)</i>	T. Hill's School, Birm.	<i>Anon.</i>
" " (2)	<i>Anon.</i>	Belfast Academical	<i>Halliday and</i>
" " (oval)	<i>S. F. B.</i>	Institn.	<i>V. & D.</i>
Lord Grenville, Chancellor of Oxford	<i>Anon.</i>	R. Belfast Academical	<i>T. W. Ingram</i>
Rev. W. Huntington, Chapel	"	Institn.	
Jo. Hanson	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>	Repository of Arts,	<i>G. F. Pidgeon</i>
Bartholomew Johnson	<i>Anon.</i>	Ackerman's Hon. Med.	
		Isis	<i>T. Wyon Jun.</i>
		Maldon Charter	<i>Anon.</i>

1811

Geo. III, Amity	<i>B. Patrick</i>	T. Cribb v. Molyneux	<i>I. Porter</i>
Geo. P. Regent	<i>J. Barber</i>	T. Cribb, Pugilist	<i>Anon.</i>
" "	<i>P. Wyon</i>	Notts. Rifleman	<i>T. Wyon Jun.</i>
" "	<i>T. Wyon Sen. and Jun.</i>	Loyal Foresters	<i>Anon.</i>
" "	<i>E. Morel</i>	Providence Lodge,	<i>T. W. Ingram</i>
" "	<i>J. B. Harnisch</i>	Loyal Britons	
" "	<i>Westwood</i>	Glasgow Corporation Medal	<i>Anon.</i>
Prince of Wales	<i>L. Heuberger</i>	Capt. of Java (E. Ind. Co.)	"
D. of Gloucester, Chanc.	<i>W. Wyon</i>	Fr. Eagle, Barossa (Grayham)	"
of Cambridge (2)		Preston Agric. Society	"
D. of Gloucester, Chanc.	<i>Anon.</i>	Ellesmere Girls' School	"
of Cambridge		Soho School	"
Sir B. Guise, Gloucester	"	Coffee Mart, W. Deacon	"
J. Sadler, Aeronaut	<i>P. Wyon</i>		

1812

Geo. III, Indian Chiefs Med.	<i>Anon.</i>	George Canning, Election	<i>Anon.</i>
Wellington, Liberator	"	T. Skinner, Fort	<i>T. Wyon Jun.</i>
" Portugal	"	De Bath	
" (2)	<i>T. and P. Wyon</i>	Rutherglen, K. Finlay's	<i>Anon.</i>
Peninsula Medal	<i>N. Marchant</i>	Agric. Medal	
Duke of Gloucester,	<i>T. Wyon Jun.</i>	Wooldridge Med.	<i>T. Wyon Jun.</i>
Chanc. of Cambridge		Free Trade to India (3)	<i>Anon.</i>
Alex. I of Russia, Avenger	<i>W. Wyon</i>	Spencer Perceval	<i>W. T.</i>
J. Jones, 'Wasp' v.	<i>M. Fürst</i>	Murdered	
'Frolic'		John Bellingham	<i>Anon.</i>
Capt. I. Hull, 'Constit.'	<i>J. M. Reich</i>	Order of Friendly Odds	"
v. 'Guerriere'		Cork Agric. Soc.	"
Forlorn Hope, Costello	<i>Anon.</i>	Dumfries Hortic. Soc.	"
Royal Naval College,	<i>T. Wyon Jun.</i>	Cornwall Central School	"
Portsmouth		Scotts School	"
H. Brougham, M.P. (2)	<i>T. Halliday</i>	Liverpool Dock Police	<i>T. Halliday</i>
J. Egerton, Chester Election	<i>Anon.</i>	Antinous	<i>W. Wyon</i>
Gen. Gascoyne, Liverpool	"		

1813

Wellington, Vittoria	<i>T. Halliday</i>	Duke of Bedford, Smithfield	<i>Anon.</i>
" (3)	<i>F. Sagau</i>	Capt. Perry, U.S.A.,	<i>M. Fürst</i>
" Kingston, Hull	<i>Anon.</i>	L. Erie	
" Marquis	<i>L. Heuberger</i>	Capt. Lawrence, 'Hornet'	"
The Allies	<i>J. T. Stettner</i>	v. 'Peacock'	
Wm. III, Orange League	<i>Anon.</i>	Alex. Wilson, Ornithologist	<i>Anon.</i>
Alexr. I of Russia, R. Arms	"	Manchester Pitt Club	<i>T. Wyon Jun.</i>
Kutusoff, P. Smolenski	<i>T. Halliday</i>	Leicester Pitt Club	<i>T. Webb</i>
D. of Sussex, Freemason	<i>W. Wyon</i>	Wolverhampton Pitt Club	<i>P. Wyon</i>

Dudley Pitt Club	<i>P. Wyon</i>	Doncaster Agric. Soc	<i>W. Mossop</i>
Soc. Prom. Arts and Commerce, Ceres	<i>W. Wyon</i>	Downpatrick Agric. Soc.	"
Soc. Prom. Arts and Commerce, Isis	<i>T. Wyon Jun.</i>	United Subscrip. Club	<i>J. Porter</i>
		Kildare Farming Soc.	<i>W. S. Mossop</i>
		Metal Trade	<i>W. T.</i>

1814

Geo. III, Indian Chiefs	<i>T. Wyon Jun.</i>	Peace, D. of Wellington (2)	<i>Stuckhart</i>
R R. Arms (3 sizes)		" P. Blucher	<i>T. Halliday</i>
Geo. III, Indian Chiefs	<i>T. Wyon Jun.</i>	" " (2)	<i>G. Mills</i>
R Britannia and Indian	(Unpublished)	" "	<i>G. Mills?</i>
Geo. P. Regent, Nat. Jub.	<i>Anon.</i>	" Blucher created Prince	<i>Pub. Thomason</i>
Prince Regent, Nat. Jubilee	<i>W. Wyon</i>	Peace, Dchess. Oldenburg, Mint	<i>T. Wyon Jun.</i>
The Thanksgiving	"	Peace, Czar visits Mint	" "
" "	<i>Anon.</i>	" Treaty of Paris	" "
Brunswick Centenary, Geo. III	<i>T. Wyon Jun.</i>	" Allegorical Group	<i>G. Mills</i>
Brunswick Centenary, Cork	" "	" Seated by Globe	<i>Anon.</i>
Brunswick Centenary, 3 Georges	<i>W. S. Mossop</i>	" Figure of	<i>T. Wyon Sen. and I. Parkes</i>
Princess Charlotte	<i>T. Webb</i>	"	<i>G. Loos</i>
Peace, Geo. Prince Regent	<i>T. Halliday and T. Wyon Jun.</i>	Peace (4)	<i>Anon.</i>
Peace, Geo. Prince Regent	<i>J. Barber and T. Wyon Jun.</i>	" Medallet	<i>H.</i>
Peace, Geo. P. Regent	<i>T. Wyon Jun.</i>	" Hetman Platoff	<i>I. Marrian</i>
" " " Hyde Park	<i>J. Westwood</i>	" " "	<i>Westwood</i>
Peace, Czar, K. of Prussia, Wellington and Blucher	<i>W. Tassie</i>	R Galloper	
Peace, Four Allied Monarchs	<i>Pub. Thomason</i>	Peace, Napoleon in Elba	(Medallet)
Peace, Louis XVIII, Five Kings	<i>Andrieu and Gatteaux</i>	" S. Fereday's Medal	<i>T. Halliday</i>
Peace of Paris (14 Heads)	<i>Anon.</i>	Wellington	<i>Anon.</i>
Peace, King of Prussia and Blucher	<i>T. Halliday</i>	" (miniature)	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>
Peace, King of Prussia in England	<i>(J. Westwood)</i>	Marshall Blucher	<i>J. Westwood</i>
Peace, Czar Alexr. I	<i>T. Webb</i>	Relief of Hanseatic Towns, Wellington and Blucher	<i>T. Halliday (Parish's)</i>
" " "	<i>J. Westwood</i>	Bordeaux to Louis XVIII, in England	<i>B. Andrieu</i>
" D. of Wellington	<i>W. Tassie</i>	Louis XVIII in 'Royal Sovereign'	<i>Andrieu and Brenet</i>
" " "	<i>I. Parkes</i>	Louis XVIII, Piddings, (2)	<i>Anon.</i>
" D. of Wellington (5)	<i>Anon.</i>	Czar Alexander (3)	"
"	"	Wellington, Ireland	"
		Upper Canada Preserved	<i>T. Wyon Jun.</i>
		Campaign Counters, 1st Set (25)	<i>Anon.</i>

Campaign Counters, 2nd Set (30)	„	Rev. G. Walker, Londonderry	W. S. Mossop
Pyrenees Battles (Official)	„	Pius VII Released (2)	T. Webb
Blackburn Pitt Club	T. Halliday	Orange Refugees (2)	Anon.
Birmingham Pitt Club	T. Webb	Liverpool R. Institn.	T. Wyon Sen.
Stirling Pitt Club	P. Wyon	„	P. Wyon
Warrington Pitt Club	„	Aesculapius, Birm. Med. Coll.	Sheriff
Liverpool Pitt Club	T. Wyon Jun.	Irish Charity School	Anon.
Notts. Pitt Club (2)	T. Webb	W. Sharman's Musical Acad.	„
Wm. Pitt, Memorial (2)	T. Wyon Jun.	Abraham's Acad., Sheffield	J. Westwood
Gen. Macomb, Plattsburgh	M. Fürst ¹	Cabbage Society	Anon.
Col. J. Carrick, Bethnal Green Volunteers	P. Wyon	Linnaeus, Liverpool Bot. Gardens	Sheriff
Dr. Wm. Turton	T. Wyon Sen.	Ld. Eglinton, Ardrossan	W. Wyon
M. Boulton, Memorial (2) ²	G. F. Pidgeon	Agric. Society	„
Canning for Ever	Anon.	Vienna Arch	Anon.
Lord Mayor	W.	Algiers (not published)	W. Wyon

1815

Geo. P. of Wales, Waterloo	W. Wyon	Wellington, Napoleon,	Brunton
„ „ (miniature)	Anon.	Blücher	„
Waterloo (not finished until 1850)	B. Pistrucci	Napoleon	T. Halliday
Waterloo, Napoleon	E. Rogat	Napoleon, Waterloo, 'St. Jean'	L. Petit
(Pub. c. 1834, q.v.)	„	Napoleon, St. Helena (3)	Anon.
Waterloo, Cr. P. of Orange (Medallet)	„	„ Rochfort	„
„ Geo. IV	T. Wyon Jun.	Allies enter Paris	D. F. Loos
„ Brunswick	C. Haeseler	Peninsula (20 Medallets in tube)	Pub. Thomason
„ Austrian Med.	J. N. Lang	Quatre Bras	A. J. Bemme
„ „	J. Henning	Louis XVIII, Peace	T. Halliday
„ Union	E. Avern	„ „ and	„
Wellington, Vot. Publ.	After Webb (2)	Allied Monarchs	„
„	Pub. Thomason	Louis XVIII, Treaty with Britain	B. Andrieu and Gatteaux
„	W. S. Mossop	Peace, 3 Figures	G. Mills
„	P. Kempson	„ To America	Anon.
„	Morel	Upper Canada Pre- served, 1815 (sic)	After T. Wyon Jun.
„	Desforges	Lord Castlereagh	L. Heuberger
„ Waterloo (2) (Medallet)	„	Gen. Lord Hill (2nd Med.)	G. Mills
„ Warrior Crowned	Anon.	S. Birch, Lord Mayor	T. Webb
„ and Blücher	T. Halliday	B. West, P.R.A., his 'Christ'	G. Mills
„ „ (2)	Stuckhart	B. West, P.R.A., Aet. 77	„
„ „ (2)	Anon.	„	„
Waterloo, Wellington and Blücher	D. F. Loos	„	„

¹ Fürst made 27 medals of U.S.A.-British War.² Exhibited at R.A. 1814.

Samuel Fereday	<i>P. Wyon</i>	Coleraine School	<i>Anon.</i>
St. Stepney (bust of Cleric R, oval)	<i>Anon.</i>	Royal Naval College, Gun	"
A Divine (bust full face)	<i>T. Boston</i>	Fenton Church School	"
Feinaglian Institute	<i>W. S. Mossop</i>	Nechell's Branch School	"
(Trin. College)		Melbourne Chapel	<i>T. Halliday</i>
Cork Institute	" "	St. Philips Ch. Birm.,	"
N. Ireland Society	" "	Centenary	
Farming Society of	" "	Barclay de Tolly	<i>D. F. Loos</i>
Ireland (oval)	" "	York Van Wartenburg	"
		Ship, 'Wheatsheaf'	<i>Anon.</i>

1816

Geo. Prince Regent,	<i>T. Wyon Jun.</i>	Sir J. Banks	<i>W. Wyon</i>
R Algiers	<i>and Sen.</i>	Sir Sidney Smith, Pres.	<i>After T. Webb</i>
Geo. Prince Regent, Peace	<i>G. Mills</i>	of Soc. of Knights of White Staves	
of Paris		Daniel O'Connell	<i>W. S. Mossop</i>
Pcess. Charlotte,	<i>T. Halliday</i>	H. Grattan	<i>W. Barnett</i>
Marriage (4)		C. Irving, Isle of Wight	<i>Anon.</i>
" " "	<i>T. Webb</i>	Francis I of Austria	<i>T. Halliday</i>
" " " (3) (Medalllets)		Don Joao VI of Portugal	<i>Anon.</i>
Duke of Gloucester,	(Medalllets)	Algiers (not published)	<i>W. Wyon</i>
Marriage (2)		Napoleon at St. Helena	(Italian)
Wellington, Victories	<i>I. Porter</i>	Canada, Isaac Brock	(Medallet)
" 'Grande	(Pub. Rundell	Liverpool Elect	<i>T. Halliday</i>
Decus'	and Bridge)	Sunderland Bridge (2)	"
Wellington	<i>W. Wyon</i>	Shakespeare Comm., Stratford	<i>Anon.</i>
"	<i>W. Barnett</i>	Cheltenham Nat. School	"
Gen. Ld. Hill, Monument	<i>T. Halliday</i>	Charterhouse	"
Col. Webb, Gloucester	<i>Anon.</i>	Q. Eliz., Trin. Coll.,	<i>W. S. Mossop</i>
D. of Northumberland (to L)	"	Dublin	
" " (to R)	"	Bruce's Acad., Newcastle	<i>Anon.</i>
Dch. of Devon-	<i>C. P. (= C. Pierini?)</i>	Mrs. Water's School	<i>W. Wyon</i>
shire		Oldbury Methodists (3)	<i>T. W.</i>
Dch. of Devonshire (4)	<i>L. Manfredini</i>	St. Thos. Church, Dudley	<i>T. Halliday</i>
Lord Exmouth, Algiers	<i>A. D.</i>	Regent's Howitzer	<i>C. James</i>
		Whitehaven Harmonic Soc.	<i>Anon.</i>

1817

Geo. III, 58th Year	<i>W. Wyon</i>	Pcess. Charlotte, Death	<i>T. Webb and</i>
" Assaulted	<i>T. Halliday</i>	" " "	<i>J. Marrian</i>
Q. Charlotte at Bath	<i>P. Kempson</i>	" " "	<i>P. Kempson</i>
Geo. Prince Regent,	<i>T. Wyon Jun.</i>	" " " (5) (Medalllets)	
Ionian Is.		Admiral Sir J. Duckworth	<i>G. Mills</i>
Geo. Prince Regent	<i>Anon.</i>	Ld. Dudley and Ward	(<i>Webb or</i>
Pcess. Charlotte, Death	<i>E. Avern</i>		<i>Halliday?</i>)
" " "	<i>G. Mills and</i>	Sir C. Giesecke,	<i>W. S. Mossop</i>
" " "	<i>T. Webb</i>	Greenland	
" " "	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>	Sir H. Englefield	<i>G. Mills</i>
" " " (2) <i>T. Halliday?</i>		Fr. Horner, M.P.	<i>W. Bain</i>

British Medals since 1760

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Hon. M. Wood, Ld. Mayor	<i>T. Halliday</i>	Stockport Church	<i>J. Davis</i>
Col. C. P. de Bosset,	<i>H. F. Brandt</i>	" "	<i>T. Halliday</i>
Ionian Islands		Waterloo Bridge (2)	<i>T. and W. Wyon</i>
Rd. Foxe, C.C. Coll.,	<i>G. F. Pidgeon</i>	Burgh of Calton	<i>Anon.</i>
Oxford		Bishop blessing	<i>P. Wyon</i>
True Blue Club	<i>T. Wyon Jun.</i>	Wm. III, Ireland, Statue	<i>C. Jones</i>
Sheffield Pitt Club	<i>Jonathan Wilson</i>	Shakespeare	<i>Anon.</i>
Cerne Benefit Society	<i>Anon.</i>	Etna	"
Carshalton School	"	United Hands	"
Eaglesfield House	<i>T. Wyon</i>	Merit and Industry	<i>T. and B. Wyon</i>
Adelphi School	<i>Anon.</i>	Arts and Commerce	<i>G. F. Pidgeon</i>

1818

Q. Charlotte, Death	<i>T. Wharton</i>	J. Milton (Young)	<i>M. N. Vivier</i>
" " "	<i>W. Tassie</i>	(Durand Series)	
" " "	<i>Anon.</i>	J. Milton (Old)	<i>M. N. Vivier</i>
" " "	<i>P. Kempson</i>	(Durand Series)	
" " " (2)	(Medallists)	T. Sydenham (Durand Ser.)	<i>Moltedo</i>
Marquess of Hastings,	<i>W. Wyon</i>	Wm. Shakespeare	<i>J. J. Barre</i>
India		(Durand Series)	
Sir Samuel Romilly	<i>E. Avern</i>	Roger Bacon (2)	<i>R. Gayrard</i>
Sir W. D. Gordon's Medal	"	(Durand Series)	
Col. Davies's Medals	"	Wm. Shakespeare	<i>A. Desboeufs</i>
(Worcester) (3)		Decazes, Scottish	<i>J. J. Barre</i>
Lincoln Elect.	"	Lodge, Paris	
Coke and Independence	"	Cardiff Benefit Society	<i>Anon.</i>
H. Brougham, Election	<i>G. Mills</i>	Phipson's School	"
Saddleworth Pitt Club	<i>Anon.</i>	Geo. III, Halifax	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>
Congress of Aix la	<i>H. F. Brandt</i>	Nat. School	
Chapelle		G. Belzoni, The Pyramid	<i>T. J. Wells</i>

1819

Duke of Wellington (2)	<i>T. Webb</i>	Henry VIII (Durand	<i>E. Rogat</i>
Duke of Sussex, Free-	<i>Anon.</i>	Series)	
masons' Hall		Wm. Penn (Durand Series)	"
Sir P. Ross ¹	<i>Anon.</i>	James Watt, Death	<i>G. Mills</i>
Sir C. Cockerill,	<i>J. P. Suffield</i>	" " "	<i>I. Marrian</i>
Evesham		" " "	<i>A. Galle</i>
Colonel C. Herries	<i>W. Bain</i>	" " Burial, Statue	<i>Anon.</i>
Lord Fitzwilliam	<i>J. Wilson</i>	Manchester Riots	"
Sir I. Newton (Durand	<i>L. M. Petit</i>	Neptune and British	<i>G. F. Pidgeon</i>
Series)		Fleet	
Sir H. Englefield, 2nd Med.	<i>G. Mills</i>	Mercury and Pallas,	<i>W. Wyon</i>
Jo. Locke (Durand	<i>F. A. Caunois</i>	Society of Arts	
Series)		Renfrew Agricultural Society	<i>Anon.</i>
W. Congreve (Durand	<i>A. A. Cague</i>	(1st Med.)	
Series)		R. Lancastrian Education	<i>W. Wyon</i>

¹ Name, not signature, on Truncation.

R. Lancastrian Education (4)	<i>Anon.</i>	Cripplegate Girls' School	<i>Anon.</i>
Leybourn's Academy	<i>P. Wyon</i>	Independent Meeting	<i>T. Halliday</i>
St. Andrew's Academy	<i>Anon.</i>	House, Birm.	
Ocker's Hill School	"	St. John's Hospital, Exeter,	"
Wellington Free School	"	Collyns Arms	
Jamaica School	<i>Gibson</i>	Aesculapius	<i>B. Wyon</i>

1820

Geo. III and Q. Charlotte	<i>Anon.</i>	Geo. III, Funeral,	<i>T. and P. Wyon</i>
Geo. III, Death (2)	<i>C. H. Kuchler</i>	Bob Wig (6)	
" "	<i>T. Webb or</i>	Geo. III, Funeral	<i>J. Westwood</i>
	<i>T. Wyon Sen.</i>	" " (3)	<i>Anon.</i>
" "	<i>I. Marrian</i>	" (Miniature)	<i>W. Wyon</i>
" "	<i>E. Avern</i>	Three Georges	<i>I. Parkes</i>

J. MUDIE'S VICTORY SERIES—*begun 1814, finished 1820*

Date	Subject		Medallists	
			Obverse	Reverse
1662	British at Bombay		J. P. Droz	G. Mills
1794	Lord Howe	Ushant	W. Wyon	W. Wyon
1797	Lord St. Vincent	St. Vincent	G. Mills	L. Brenet
1797	Lord Duncan	Camperdown	T. Webb	W. Wyon
1799	Marquess Wellesley ¹	Seringapatam	G. Mills	L. Brenet
1799	Sir Syd. Smith	Acre	G. Mills	L. Brenet
1801	Sir R. Abercromby	Egypt	T. Webb	T. Webb
1801	Lord Hutchinson	Egypt	T. Webb	A. Duprè
1802	Duke of York	R. Milit. College	T. Webb	L. Brenet
1805	Lord Nelson	Nile, Trafalgar	T. Webb	J. P. Droz
1805	Lord Nelson ²	" "	T. Webb	J. P. Droz
1808	Wellington	Enters Peninsula	N. Brenet	N. Brenet
1808	Battle of Vimiera	Lisbon	J. Barre	G. Mills
1809	Sir J. Moore	Corunna	G. Mills	J. Coriguer
1809	Wellington	Douro	N. Brenet	E. Dubois
1809	Wellington	Talavera	G. Mills	Lafitte
1809	Wellington ³	"	Donadio	Lafitte
1811	Fabius Cunctator	Torres Vedras	L. Petit	E. Dubois
1811	Lord Beresford	Albuera	T. Webb	L. Brenet
1812	Sir T. Picton	Badajoz	T. Webb	G. Mills
1812	Lord Hill	Almaraz	G. Mills	R. Gayrard
1812	Battle of Salamanca	Madrid entered	N. Brenet	N. Brenet
1813	Wellington	Vittoria	G. Mills	Lefèvre
1813	Wellington	Pyrenees	N. Brenet	N. Brenet
1813	Lord Lynedoch	St. Sebastian	T. Webb	G. Mills
1813	Wellington	Pampluna	N. Brenet	J. Droz

¹ Additional to original series.² Rejected design.³ Die cracked, rejected.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Subject</i>		<i>Medallists</i>	
			<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
1814	Britannia	Toulouse	R. Gayrard	N. Brenet
1814	Britannia	Peace, Hercules	R. Gayrard	J. Droz
1814	Geo. Prince Regent	Peace	G. Mills	E. Dubois
1814	Geo. Prince Regent	Paris	G. Mills	L. Brenet
1814	Britannia	Allies	R. Gayrard	J. Barre
1814	Duke of Cambridge	Hanover	T. Webb	J. Barre
1815	Escape from Elba	Congress of Vienna	L. Brenet	A. Depaulis
1815	Netherlands Bull	Scheldt	A. Depaulis	Lefevre
1815	Wellington	Waterloo	N. Brenet	N. Brenet
1815	Marquess Anglesey	Waterloo	G. Mills	A. Depaulis
1815	Wellington	In Paris	N. Brenet	N. Brenet
1815	Napoleon	Bellerophon	T. Webb	L. Brenet
1816	Napoleon	St. Helena	T. Webb	G. Mills
1816	Lord Exmouth	Algiers	L. Brenet	Gerard
1817	Ionian Islands	Britain	A. Depaulis	A. Depaulis
1817	George III	Religion	T. Webb	A. Depaulis
1818	Marquess Hastings ¹	India	W. Wyon	W. Wyon

¹ Additional to original series.

Published in Case with 4to Volume of Description in 1820.

Prices: Bronze 20 Guineas, Silver 40 Guineas, Gold 600 Guineas.

REVIEWS

The Coinage of Edward III from 1351. By L. A. LAWRENCE, F.R.C.S., F.S.A. Obtainable from the author, or from Spink & Sons, Ltd., 21s.

THIS volume, recently printed by the Oxford University Press, may well be considered the crowning work of Mr. Lawrence's long career as a scholarly and prolific writer on numismatic subjects. Not only is it the longest and most complete story of the coinage of any one reign (and that not a short one!) that has ever been written, but it also embodies an entirely new factor in the study of English medieval coins. This discovery was made by Mr. Lawrence about the time when he was just deciding to write in conjunction with Mr. H. B. E. Fox a complete history of the coins and coinage of Edward III after 1351 until the end of the reign. Briefly, the discovery was this, that there existed at the time under consideration an elaborate system of marking the coins with a privy mark so that their origin could at any time be ascertained by the authorities charged with carrying out the Trials of the Pyx which were ordered to take place every three months. Mr. Lawrence realized that if the officials could recognize the coins by their marks so also should we be able to to-day, and he at once set to work to try to find them. Students of the period had long been aware of various peculiarities such as malformed or mutilated letters, the presence of small pellets, annulets, or crosses in various unexpected places, and so on, but it remained for Mr. Lawrence to turn these to account and endeavour so far as possible by their aid to place every coin to its proper three-monthly period.¹ A formidable task indeed for any one to attempt! It will be noticed that the book is dedicated to the memory of H. B. Earle Fox and George Cyril Brooke. It was with the former that the work was begun, but his premature death in 1918 robbed Mr. Lawrence of his collaborator and left him to carry on alone. That he received valuable assistance from G. C. Brooke, he is the first to admit, but once again

¹ Dr. Brooke had previously published a valuable article on Henry V in *Num. Chron.* Ser. V, vol. x, applying Mr. Lawrence's theories to that reign.

death intervened and he was obliged to put the final touches to his great work by himself. What this meant probably only those who have been familiar with it from the start can ever realize. The hunt for some missing coin, theorized to exist but so far undiscovered! The chase for some scrap of evidence to be sought for in the contemporary documents, sometimes off the original skins! A chance reference in some obscure "foreign account", or a letter to or from a bishop! All these things had diligently to be sought for, and when discovered their proper meaning interpreted. The amount of patience and labour required to carry through such a work is almost inconceivable.

Some twenty-five years ago the late Sir Henry Howarth, in a Presidential address to members of the Royal Numismatic Society, remarked that so far as English coins were concerned there seemed very little more to be discovered or written about them! Since then the coins of almost every reign have each been dealt with separately, in a most complete and elaborate manner, in many cases by Mr. Lawrence himself. But this last work of his stands in a class by itself on account of his discovery of the "privy mark" system, which has enabled a closer and more accurate classification of the coins to be made. It can well be imagined that students of the reigns subsequent to that of Edward III may be able by this method to rearrange the coins in a definite and accurate manner never before attempted. In spite of Sir Henry's rather depressing forecast we may yet hope for some interesting work from future writers, which Mr. Lawrence's remarkable discovery will have made possible.

J. S.-F.

British and Foreign Medals relating to Naval and Maritime Affairs. Arranged by the EARL OF SANDWICH. The National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, 1937. 308 pages, 17 plates, price 2s. 6d.

THIS book is a catalogue of the large collection of naval medals of all countries in the new Museum of Greenwich. It is excellently prepared and the price, 2s. 6d., is astoundingly low. The medals are all described in some detail with references to *Medallic Illustrations* and to Lord Milford Haven's works. In some cases historical notes are added.

The seventeen collotype plates would alone be worth the price.

Coins of the Modern World. By M. COMENCINI. Methuen & Co. 1937. 185 pages, 299 illustrations in the text, price 7s. 6d.

THIS book gives a general list with brief descriptions of the coinage throughout the world since 1870. The book is the first to cover this ground, and it therefore fills a long-felt want. It is, however, not entirely satisfactory from the collector's point of view. It is far from complete and is not always clearly arranged. Fluctuations in foreign exchanges had already made the relative values suggested for coins out of date by the time the book appeared. Probably the best sections are those on China and the Far East.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

The Numismatic Chronicle, Series V, vol. xvi, 1936.

The following papers on British numismatics are included in the above volume:

"The Boyton Find of Coins of Edward I and II", by Derek Allen. This hoard of pennies is typical of many that have turned up at various times. A single long-cross penny is recorded out of a total of 4,147 coins, the remaining Edward pennies showing an almost complete series of the known types from 1279 to 1320. Perhaps the most valuable part of this paper is the outline of a classification of the Irish coins. It claims to be no more than an outline, but may pave the way for a more detailed classification, of which there is great need. The paper is accompanied by a detailed list of the coins in the hoard which, it is suggested, was deposited about 1324.

"New Light on Thomas Simon", by Miss Helen Farquhar. Papers from the pen of Miss Farquhar are always welcome items in the *Chronicle*, and the present one is no exception. Much new information regarding the Simon family is placed on record, not the least interesting being the discovery of the entry for his baptism in April 1618. This gives us the approximate date of his birth, and from it Miss Farquhar makes certain interesting deductions. Thomas Simon was apprenticed to the mint for a period of seven years from 1635 and had, at the latest, in 1637, and perhaps even earlier, engraved the beautiful little silver seal for the Privy Council.

It was not previously realized that he must have been at most nineteen years old at this time. In 1638, at the age of twenty, he engraved an important Admiralty seal for the Earl of Northumberland as Lord High Admiral. His ability must, therefore, have been soon recognized for such work to have been entrusted to him so early in his apprenticeship. Among the numerous illustrations accompanying the paper are two representing the obverse and reverse of a hitherto unpublished seal made by Simon for the Governors of the School and Almshouses of Westminster in 1649-50.

"A Small Hoard of Silver Pennies found in Dunfermline in 1896", by L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A. Mr. Lawrence recently acquired this hoard and the jug in which it was contained. There were 269 coins, of which all except four were pennies of Edward I and II, but a few Scottish pennies and continental coins may have been removed. Of Edward III there were three pennies, one of Fox type XV *d* of London and two of the "Florin" type of London and York. Mr. Lawrence discusses briefly the vexed question of the Durham coins of type XV *d* and gives it as his opinion that the coins of this type, which have latterly been regarded as struck by Bishop de Bury, who received the temporalities of the See in December 1333, should in fact be ascribed to his predecessor, Bishop Beaumont. Probably owing to limitations of space, he does not set out fully the reasons for his attribution.

Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 3rd Ser., vol. i: "On the 'dragon' series of the Anglo-Saxon sceattas", by Col. N. T. Belaiew.

Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, Autumn 1936: "Uniforms and Equipment of the Royal Scots Greys, i, 1678-1751", by Rev. P. Sumner.

Winter 1936: "English Militia Regiments, 1757-1935: their badges and buttons", by Major H. G. Parkyn.

Spring 1937: "The badges of the Irish Free State Army", by Capt. R. A. M. Cleaver, "Uniform and equipment of the Royal Scots Greys, ii, 1752-99", by Rev. P. Sumner; "Badges of Rank: Dublin garrison, c. 1772."

British Museum Quarterly, vol. x, no. 4: "The Clarke-Thornhill Collection of British Coins."

Vol. xi, no. 1: "Rare English Medals."

Vol. xi, no. 2: "English Coins from the Lawrence Collection."

The English Historical Review, October 1936: "Wood's Halfpence", by A. Goodwin.

The Mariner's Mirror, vol. xxiii, no. 3: "The Naval General Service Medal, 1793-1840", by Commander W. B. Rowbotham.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. lxx: "Die Interchanges between Scottish Mints", by C. H. Dakers.

Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, vol. lxvi, part 2: "Coin find of Elizabeth."

Vol. lxvii, part 1: Coin hoard in co. Clare. (Coins of Edward I, II, and III. The description is too brief to be of much value.)

Archaeologia Cambrensis, vol. xcii, part 1: "Bracelets and coins found at Braich-y-Dinas, Penmaenmawr."

Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society, vol. 57: "The Muckleford Treasure Trove", by D. F. Allen (Gold Coins of James I and Charles I).

The Essex Review, October 1936: "Cymbeline and his Coins."

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, 4th Ser., vol. vii, no. 7: "Medal of the Northumbrian Small Pipes Society", by G. Askew.

Oxoniensia, vol. i: "Archbishop Laud and the University Collection of Coins", by J. G. Milne.

Surrey Archaeological Collections, vol. xlv: "Ancient British Coin."

Sussex Notes and Queries, vol. vi, no. 6: "Treasure Trove at Selsey." (Ring-money.)

Bidrag till Södermanland äldre Kulturhistoria, vol. xxix: "Coin finds of the Viking period in Södermanland", by U. S. Linder.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

SESSIONS 1936 AND 1937

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

SESSION 1936

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- 1919 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1920 FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
- 1921 FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
- 1922 J. SANFORD SALTUS—*till 22 June*
- 1922 GRANT R. FRANCIS—*from 28 June*
- 1923 GRANT R. FRANCIS
- 1924 GRANT R. FRANCIS
- 1925 GRANT R. FRANCIS
- 1926 MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.
- 1927 MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.
- 1928 MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.—*till 20 February*
- 1928 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.—*from 22 February*
- 1929 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1930 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1931 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., F.R.S.A.
- 1932 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., F.R.S.A.
- 1933 V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
- 1934 V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
- 1935 V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
- 1936 V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS GOLD MEDAL

THIS Medal is awarded by ballot of all the Members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interest of numismatic science".

The Medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society, the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

Medallists

- 1910 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1911 MISS HELEN FARQUHAR
- 1914 W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
- 1917 L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.
- 1920 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1923 H. ALEXANDER PARSONS
- 1926 GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.
- 1929 J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX, R.B.A.
- 1932 CHARLES WINTER
- 1935 RAYMOND C. CARLYON-BRITTON

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 22 JANUARY 1936

THIS Meeting was cancelled owing to the death of His Majesty King George V.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 26 FEBRUARY 1936

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

THE President in his opening remarks regretted that it was his painful duty to have to move a resolution of condolence on the lamented death of His Majesty King George V, who for upwards of twenty-six years had been both a Royal Member of the Society and also its Patron. The President read the Secretary's letters to His Majesty King Edward VIII and to Her Majesty Queen Mary expressing on behalf of the Members the dutiful sympathy of the Society with its Royal Members.

The resolution was solemnly passed, all standing to his memory.

Mr. Charles E. Jacobs was elected a Member of the Society, and the following nomination for Membership was read and ordered to be suspended in the usual manner:

Mr. L. Jones.

Presentation to the Library

By MESSRS. SPINK AND SON: A bound copy of Vol. xliii for 1935 of their Numismatic Circular.

Presentation of the John Sanford Saltus Medal

The President announced that it was now his pleasing duty to present to Mr. Raymond C. Carlyon-Britton the John Sanford Saltus Medal, which had been voted to him by the Society at the Anniversary Meeting in the previous November. In making the presentation the President commented on the valuable papers that Mr. Carlyon-Britton had contributed to the pages of the *Journal*, especial mention being made of his papers on "The Sequence of Mint

Marks preceding, during, and succeeding the Restoration of Henry VI", and "The Last Coinage of Henry VII". The President having presented the Medal, Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton expressed his thanks for the honour conferred on him by the President and Members of the Society.

Exhibitions

By DR. A. N. BRUSHFIELD: A Kapang of the Dutch East Indies. Also a rupee with native inscriptions and date 1819, for the East India Company.

By MR. A. H. F. BALDWIN: A series of Exeter coins of Charles I in illustration of the paper, including a half-crown, purporting to be a Bristol-Exeter mule. This coin is from the Murdoch collection (lot 143), and is described in the *Numismatic Circular*, April 1900. The rose below the horse has been skilfully added to a Bristol coin by some forger to make a new variety.

By MR. H. J. DAKERS: Groats of Edward IV:

- Heavy 1. Initial-marks cross and x. Lis on neck.
- 2. Initial-marks roses. Crescent on neck.
- 3. Initial-marks roses. Eye after CIVITAS.
- 4. Initial-marks roses. Annulets by sides of neck.
- 5. Initial-marks roses. Trefoil on breast.

Light 1. Coventry groat, a mule with no α on breast,

By MISS H. FARQUHAR (per Mr. R. Cyril Lockett):

Charles I Unite with reverse CVLTORES of Truro.

Charles I Half-crowns (four), all very rare types of the Truro-Exeter coins.

By MR. R. CYRIL LOCKETT: A series of coins in illustration of the paper.

By MESSRS. SPINK AND SON (per Mr. R. Cyril Lockett): Charles I Scottish Rebellion medal (1639) undated, by Thomas Simon. Silver gilt.

Paper

NOTES ON THE TRURO AND EXETER COINS OF CHARLES I

By R. CYRIL LOCKETT, J.P., F.S.A.

Mr. Lockett contributed an exhaustive paper on this subject. Comparatively little has been written on the Truro

mint, so that readers will welcome the publication of the paper in the present volume of the *Journal*. The paper was illustrated by a wealth of exhibits.

At the conclusion of the Meeting and at the instance of the President a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Librarian, Mr. H. A. Parsons, for his work in securing new quarters for the Society, a change which was unanimously approved by the Members present.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 25 MARCH 1936

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

The President read the following letter from Sir John Simon, in reply to the Secretary's letter to His Majesty King Edward VIII, expressing on behalf of the Members the dutiful sympathy of the Society with its Royal Members:

Home Office,
Whitehall.
17th March 1936

Sir,

I have had the honour to lay before The King the Loyal and Dutiful Address of the Members of the British Numismatic Society on the occasion of the lamented death of His late Majesty King George the Fifth and have received The King's Commands to convey to you His Majesty's grateful Thanks for the assurances of sympathy and devotion to which it gives expression.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) JOHN SIMON.

The Honorary Secretary,
The British Numismatic Society.

Mr. L. Jones was elected a Member of the Society.

Presentation to the Library

By the Author, MISS H. FARQUHAR: A bound copy of *Royal Charities, the Maundy and other Alms*.

Exhibitions

By MR. C. E. BLUNT: A series of casts in illustration of the paper.

By MR. JAMES KENNY: Edward IV London groat with rose and sun stops in legend. Cross and pellet mint-mark.

By MR. L. A. LAWRENCE: Edward IV heavy groat with initial-mark rose. Saltire stops on obverse and trefoil stops on reverse. Unpublished with trefoil stops.

By MR. H. ALEXANDER PARSONS: Scottish half-merk of Charles II, dated 1667. Of this year Burns, in his *Coinage of Scotland*, remarks that the date 1667 "does not seem to occur on any coins of the merk denominations", but in writing on the Scottish milled coins in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xix, Mr. Parsons produced evidence, from the mint accounts, to show that some were struck, although at the time of writing he had not, in common with previous writers, come across specimens. The appearance of the half-merk seemed therefore to be worth recording in the *Journal*, as it supplemented the article above referred to.

By MR. J. SHIRLEY-FOX: A series of groats of Edward IV, to show the sequence of the initial-marks.

Paper

NOTES ON THE COINS OF EDWARD IV'S FIRST REIGN,
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE NOBLES AND ANGELS

By CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, F.S.A.

Mr. Blunt contributed an interesting paper on this subject, bringing forward some new theories, which threw considerable light on issues of the first reign of Edward IV. The paper is printed in the present volume of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 22 APRIL 1936

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

The President announced that Mr. H. J. Dakers had been unanimously elected by the Council to the post of Librarian *vice* Mr. H. A. Parsons who had been obliged to resign owing to his removal to the West of England.

The following nomination for Membership was read and ordered to be suspended in the usual manner:

William S. Gibson, Ph., Surg., 94 Woolstone Road, S.E. 23.

Presentation to the Library

By THE ROYAL SWEDISH CABINET OF COINS AND MEDALS:

Hildebrand's *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Cabinet*, Stockholm, 1846.

Six pamphlets, by various authors, containing references to Anglo-Saxon coins, published in Stockholm.

Exhibitions

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL:

Oval Badge of the Beggars' Benison Club.

Jewel of the Gormogon Society.

Masonic Jewel.

Irish Penny token of Dublin, 1822. On obverse, bust of George III and legend LUKE. XX CHAP. XXV VER.

Badges of the Friendly Association of St. Petersburg.

Roman Consular Family Denarius.

By MR. C. E. BLUNT: Coins of Edward III of the Berwick-on-Tweed mint:

Penny with boar's head in one quarter of reverse.

Halfpenny with boar's head in one quarter of reverse.

Halfpenny and farthing with boar's head in two quarters of reverse.

Note. Only three specimens are believed to be known of the penny and farthing of Berwick of this reign.

Halfpenny of George III, countermarked with K and coronet.

Lead token found at Winchester. Obverse, the initials T.S. with the date 1728 below. Reverse, a bird.

By MR. H. J. DAKERS: Two groats of James I of Scotland unknown to Burns, British Museum, and Scottish National Collection.

1. *Obverse*, pierced quatrefoil at foot of sceptre. Plain I as on the earliest Demy (B. 424).

Reverse, plain I and L. Pellets joined, forming trefoils, ⁺_x between words.

2. *Obverse* as above.

Reverse, usual reverse with ornamented I (I).

By MR. JAS. KENNY: Coin of Michael VII Ducas (A.D. 1071-8). Half-length figure of Michael, holding labarum and globe. Reverse, bust of Christ. Also a solidus of Constantine VII and Romanus II (A.D. 945-59). Reverse, bust of Christ holding the Gospels.

By MR. K. READHEAD: A series of William III shillings in very fine condition.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS: The following crowns:

Elizabeth m.m. I; James I m.m. lis and another, m.m. slipped trefoil; Commonwealth of date 1653, found at Crossness, near Woolwich.

Spanish coins (4), of varying denominations, counter-marked G.R. and a crown, in hexagonal frame.

French écu countermarked "Adelphi Cotton Works".

Spanish coin countermarked TORTOLA. and another S.S.S. (the Saints Islands).

Guadeloupe One Bit.

New South Wales Fifteen-pence in very fine condition.

Uniface striking for head of Victoria, initialled J.B.

Paper

SOME MEDALLIC TOBACCO STOPPERS

By V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

Another paper by our President provided an interesting evening. The subject chosen was Tobacco Stoppers, in particular those made from medals or badges. The paper will be printed in a future volume of the *Journal*. It was illustrated by an exhibition of tobacco stoppers.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 27 MAY 1936

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

Mr. W. S. Gibson, Ph., Surg., was elected a Member of the Society.

Exhibitions

By DR. F. O. ARNOLD: The following coins of Edward IV and V in illustration of his paper:

Edward V angel with combined rose and sun mint-mark on obverse and reverse.

Edward V angel with boar's head mint-mark on obverse and rose and sun on reverse.

Edward V halfpenny with combined rose and sun mint-mark on obverse.

Edward V groat with combined rose and sun mint-mark on obverse and reverse. A pellet under bust.

The same as the preceding except the pellet is omitted.

Edward V groat with boar's head on obverse and rose and sun on reverse.

Edward IV angel with cinquefoil mint-mark on obverse and reverse.

Two Edward IV groats with rose mint-mark on obverse and sun on reverse. α on breast.

By MR. A. H. F. BALDWIN: Edward V angel with mint-mark rose and sun.

Edward V half-angel, with similar mint-mark, probably the second known specimen.

By DR. A. N. BRUSHFIELD: Set of card money of the Abyssinian Railway, viz: 5 centimes (two varieties), 10 centimes, 25 centimes, 50 centimes, and 1 franc.

By MR. V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON: Money-changer's box of scales and weights, temp. Charles I.

By MR. JAS. KENNY: A series of coins of Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III.

Paper

THE COINAGE OF EDWARD V

By F. O. ARNOLD, M.A., M.D.

A most interesting evening was provided by Dr. Arnold, who dealt with a subject on which little has been written for many years. It was conceded that Dr. Arnold had cleared many difficulties that had arisen in the allocation of these coins, and the paper will be read with great interest in the present volume of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 24 JUNE 1936

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair**Exhibitions*

By MR. DEREK ALLEN: Casts of Northumbrian coins in illustration of his paper.

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL:

British or Celtic Wheel money.

British Tin money.

Coin of Cunobelin.

Four varieties of the Sceat Series.

Coin of the Brigantes.

Stater of Dubnovellaunos.

Stater of Verica.

Stater of the Iceni.

St. Peter's penny of York.

By MR. JAMES KENNY: Two Three-farthing pieces of Elizabeth, with initial-mark cross-crosslet and cross respectively.

Paper

THE LATER COINAGE OF NORTHUMBRIA

By DEREK ALLEN

In trying to elucidate the later coinage of Northumbria Mr. Derek Allen has undertaken a task that has hitherto given rise to much conjecture. The coins principally dealt with were those of Regnald I, Sihtric, Anlaf, Regnald II, and Eric. The paper is printed in the present volume of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 28 OCTOBER 1936

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

The President announced with deep regret the death, since the last Meeting, of Mr. A. H. Baldwin, a numismatist of world-wide reputation, whose passing would be felt as a personal loss to most of the Members. As the Secretary had already sent the family a letter of sympathy and had repre-

sented the Society at the funeral, the President formally moved:

"That the British Numismatic Society desires to record its sincere regret at the death of Mr. A. H. Baldwin, a Member since the inauguration of the Society in 1903, and to convey its deep sympathy with Mrs. Baldwin and the members of the family. His loss is one which the Society will long deplore."

Passed in silence, all standing in respect to his memory.

The following nominations for Membership were read and ordered to be suspended in the usual manner:

Richard Ross Meadows White.

H. Cavanagh.

and as a Junior Member:

John R. Assheton.

The list of Officers and Council nominated for the ensuing year was duly presented to the Meeting.

Presentation to the Library

By the Author, MISS H. FARQUHAR: *New Light on Thomas Simon.*

Exhibitions

By MR. A. H. F. BALDWIN: Medals of the lesser known allies who fought against Napoleon:

1. Anhalt-Bernburg. Iron medal for 1814-15.
2. Anhalt-Dessau. Bronze cross with wreath, 1813-15.
3. Brunswick. Silver medal for the Peninsular War, 1809.
4. Brunswick. Bronze cross for bravery, dated 1809.
5. Frankfurt. Officer's medal for 1815. Von Heydon states that 225 were issued.
6. Hanover. For Volunteers in the Hanoverian Army, 1813. Bronze.
7. Hanse Towns. Gold and black enamelled cross with the letters in gold—DEUTSCHLAND in an oval centre. On arms of cross the letters A.I.: F.I.: F.W., and on bottom arm of cross "1814".
8. Hanse Towns. Silver medal for Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg.
9. Saxony. Volunteers of the 5th German Army Corps, 1814.

10. Schwartzburg. 1814-15 cross.
11. Switzerland. Small silver medal for 1815.
12. Wurtemberg. Bronze medal for 1793-1815, for three campaigns.

By MR. V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON:

1. Irish money weight, 1714. The weight indicated by "^D4:^G21:^M12" i.e. 4 dwt. 21 gr. 12 mites (?). The Proclamation of 24 July 1714 sets out a list of new French coins in gold and silver permitted to be current in Ireland together with their weights in current value. Among the silver pieces is "the quarter French silver Lewis of the new species. Weight 4 d. 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ g. value 1/4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", which is no doubt the coin which the present money-weight represents. Mr. Crowther-Beynon said that Mr. Dudley Westropp of the Dublin Museum had a weight of similar type with the legend ^DXIX. ^G14. ^M8., representing the new silver Lewis of the same series, the weight being given in the Proclamation above mentioned as 19 dwt. 15 gr. Mr. Westropp was of opinion that "M" stood for "Mite", which appears in several eighteenth-century dictionaries, some defining a mite as the 14th part of a grain, and others as the 20th part, but why there should be this discrepancy it is hard to say.¹ In neither case can the number of mites in the legends be made to agree with the weights assigned to them in the Proclamation. If "M" does not stand for "Mite", it is difficult to suggest an alternative explanation. Mr. Westropp had apparently only met with one specimen with this kind of notation, and Mr. Crowther-Beynon had never met with it except in the case of the weight he exhibited.
2. Charm or Talisman of the seventeenth or eighteenth century, probably from the Balkan area, the type derived from Greek coins of Italy.

Obverse—Two helmeted busts facing each other and an unintelligible legend in Greek (?) characters.

Reverse—Sow and seven piglets perhaps suggested by a

¹ The Oxford English Dictionary has: 'A small weight; *spec.* the twentieth part of a grain troy'.

coin of the Umbrian city of Tudur (vide *B.M. Cat. of Greek Coins, Italy*, p. 397), with a retrograde legend ΕΔΕΤΥΤ.

This series is described by Svoronos in the *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique* for 1905, pp. 257 ff., and a similar piece to this is figured on Pl. v, fig. 1.

BY MR. JAMES KENNY: London groat of Richard III, with mint-mark rose and sun dimidiated.

Paper

A FEW NOTES ON SWISS OFFICERS AND MERCENARY REGIMENTS IN THE PAY OF ENGLAND (*Conclusion*)

By LEONARD FORRER

In the absence of Mr. Forrer, Mr. Blunt read the conclusion of this interesting paper. Mr. Forrer has explored new ground, and the paper will be printed in a future volume of the *Journal*.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

MONDAY, 30 NOVEMBER 1936

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

Mr. H. Cavanagh and Mr. Richard Ross Meadows White were elected Members of the Society, and Mr. John R. Assheton a Junior Member.

The following nomination for Junior Membership was also read and ordered to be suspended in the usual manner:

Mr. Laurence Amberton Kenny, Shamrock, Ivy Lane, Whitstable.

The Council's Report, which with the Treasurer's Accounts is printed below, was read by the Secretary and unanimously adopted.

The Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Douglas H. Whinney, presented the Society's Accounts for the year. They were explained in detail and comparison made with the previous year. The Meeting congratulated Mr. Whinney upon his accounts and passed them unanimously. Votes of thanks were passed to the Hon. Treasurer and to the Auditors, Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Evans and Mr. C. E. Blunt for their services.

Mr. Ivo Pakenham and Mr. Derek Allen having been appointed Scrutators, the ballot for the Officers and Council for 1937 was duly taken and the result was as follows:

Officers and Council for 1937

President: V. B. Crowther-Beynon, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents: Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.; E. C. Carter, M.D., M.R.C.P.; Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Evans; Lord Grantley, D.L. J.P., F.S.A.; L.A. Lawrence, F.R.C.S., F.S.A.; R. Cyril Lockett, J.P., F.S.A.

Director: Christopher E. Blunt, F.S.A.

Treasurer: Douglas H. Whinney.

Librarian: H. J. Dakers, M.A.

Secretary: H. W. Taffs, M.B.E.

Council: Derek F. Allen, B.A.; A. E. Bagnall; A. H. F. Baldwin; A. N. Brushfield, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.; Frank E. Burton, J.P., F.S.A.; J. B. Caldecott; W. H. Day; Miss H. Farquhar, F.R. Hist.S.; H. P. Hall; James Kenny; Horace H. King; J. O. Manton, A.R. Hist.S.; Ivo Pakenham; H. Alexander Parsons; F. B. Penfold, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

A vote of thanks to the Scrutators was passed.

At the conclusion of the Meeting and at the instance of Dr. E. C. Carter, seconded by Mr. Pakenham, a hearty vote of thanks was passed to the President, Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, for his sustained interest in the Society and for so successfully presiding at the Society's Meetings. In reply Mr. Crowther-Beynon thanked all the Council and Members for their kindness, and said that he appreciated the loyal support given to him by the Members.

The evening was devoted to an exhibition of coins and medals.

Exhibitions

By MR. CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT:

1. Irregular penny of Edward I of Bristol. Possibly not a forgery.
2. Henry V. Contemporary forgery of groat.
3. Edward IV. Contemporary forgery of York penny. Initial-mark star. Apparently plated on a copper core.

By MR. JAMES KENNY: Two groats of Henry VII, 1485/1509. Class IV, 1504/7. See Dr. Brooke's *English Coins*, page 168. Both read on the obverse HENRIC • DI • GRA • REX • ANGL • S • FR. and on the reverse POSVI DEV • ADIVTORE • MEV. Mint-mark cross-crosslet. One of these groats weighs 56 grains, about the weight of the heavy groats of Edward IV, and the other weighs 88½ grains. Mr. Kenny queried whether the heavy groat he exhibited

was a trial-piece for a two-groat coin, but it was the general opinion of members that both pieces were casts from the same original.

Mr. Kenny also exhibited the following coins of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham:

- 1 and 2. York pennies weighing $13\frac{1}{2}$ grains in clipped condition. Both have the quatrefoil centre of the York mint. No. 1 has pellets at side of crown and a quatrefoil at side of neck, also extra pellets in two squares of reverse. No. 2 has a quatrefoil at side of neck and four pellets in each quarter of reverse. This may possibly be a "sede-vacante" coin.
3. Edward IV. Two coins with B and Key at side of neck for Lawrence Booth 1476/80, Archbishop of York.
4. Edward IV, York. Six coins with G and Key at side of neck, for Archbishop George Neville 1465/76.
5. Edward IV or Richard III, York. Three coins with T and Key at side of neck, for Archbishop Thomas Rotherham 1480/1510.
6. Edward IV, Durham. A coin with V for Wm. Omo-ryche, a York goldsmith, on obverse and reverse. B at side of head and a quatrefoil at side of neck, for Lawrence Booth 1473/76.
7. Edward IV, Durham. Two coins, one of which had D in centre of reverse and V at side of neck. The other coin has D on left side of neck and V on right side for Bishop Wm. Dudley 1476/83.

By DR. F. B. PENFOLD: A Crosraguel Abbey token, usually termed the "Crux Pellit" piece of the latter half of the fifteenth century and during the reign of James III. Reference to *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1919, p. 291, type III. Reads GRACIA instead of the usual GRA.

Crosraguel Abbey, the only Abbey to issue its own coinage, was an offshoot of the Cluniac Abbey of Paisley, and was situated two miles south of Maybole, Ayrshire. The Abbey was destroyed in the sixteenth century under James IV.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS:

Edward the Elder penny BEORNERE MO.

Aelfred penny BYRNELM and another CVDBERHT.

William II penny BRHTOD OXNE

and the following tokens:

Northumberland, Newcastle D. & H. 1. RR.

Middlesex, Hackney, D. & H. 24, RR, and D. & H. 311, RRR.

Cambridge, Newmarket, D. & H. 35. R.

Middlesex, Non-local, D. & H. 298. R.

Worcestershire, Stourbridge, D. & H. 32. RR.

Herefordshire, D. & H. 6a.

Suffolk, Ipswich penny, Atkins 9.

Essex, Epping shilling, D. & H. 1. R.

Bucks., Amersham, D. & H. 2.

Herts., Sawbridgeworth, D. & H. 3.

Durham, D. & H. 10.

Berks., Windsor, D. & H. 1a.

Godington Hop Token, 1767, two varieties.

Two Scottish bracteate tokens, D. Mc. Vicar, and G. Beverley.

India Famine token, 1874.

India. Two varieties of an unpublished Famine token, Relief $\frac{1}{2}$ Seer, 1876.

Leather token with two $\propto$ interlinked. 1665. M.D.T.

Also a clipping of an Elizabethan coin, one of many clippings found in a box, when repairing one of the piers of London Bridge, many years ago.

The Council's Report

(30 November 1936)

The Council has the honour to present its Thirty-second Annual Report to its Members and in doing so expresses its profound regret that the year should have opened in sadness with the loss of a Royal Member beloved of the whole Empire.

It is over twenty-six years since His Majesty King George V honoured the Society by becoming a Royal Member and also its Patron, and throughout that long period, with his invariable thoughtfulness, he had never omitted to acknowledge and express his appreciation of our Proceedings. Members alike in Britain and over the Seas will share one deep and lasting sorrow that in their Royal Member they have lost not only a King, but a Man beloved of his people, and respected of all Nations.

In consequence of that sad event our list of seventeen Royal Members has been reduced to sixteen. The list of Honorary Members remains intact. The Council, however, regrets to report that the Society has again suffered loss through death, but fortunately the number is fewer than in previous years. The losses are as follows: Mr. A. H. Baldwin, a Member since 1903; Mr. J. H. Daniels, also a Member since 1903; and Dr. Geo. S. Godard representing the Joseph C. Mitchelson Collection, Connecticut State Library, also a Member since 1903.

It is a strange coincidence that all of the Members that the Society has lost this year were original Members, who have sustained their interest in the Society through lean and fat years, and have thus ever been loyal supporters of the work done by the Society. Mr. A. H. Baldwin had a name so well known throughout the whole world as a numismatist that it seems unnecessary to draw any further attention to such a Member, yet there is no doubt that the numismatic world has lost a man of vast numismatic knowledge, keen in his endeavours to acquire fresh knowledge and successful in those endeavours, and one whose name and character will ever be respected. He was always a friend to the young student.

Mr. J. H. Daniels will also be missed by collectors, though his reputation perhaps was an insular one rather than a world-wide one. A familiar figure at all the sales, he will leave a blank in numismatic circles.

As regards the last, Dr. Geo. S. Godard, this Member will not be so well known in this country and it is possible that the Secretary will miss him more than any other Member, by the absence of his many cheery and friendly letters, for he always seemed to have a warm corner in his heart for the welfare and progress of the Society. It is a source of gratification that the Connecticut State Library, in the person of his successor, Mr. James Brewster, still continues to take an interest in the Society by remaining a Member.

The Council also regrets to record the resignation from various causes of five other Members.

On the other hand, the Council has pleasure in welcoming the following new Members:

H. Cavanagh,

W. S. Gibson, Ph., Surg.,

Charles E. Jacobs,

L. Jones,

Richard Ross Meadows White, and

John R. Assheton as a Junior Member.

The Society's ordinary Membership, therefore, shows a net reduction of two Members. The loss in Members is not very great, but it was to be hoped that the efforts to obtain new Members would have been more successful and that the report would have contained a record of an increase rather than a decrease in Membership. Perhaps during the ensuing year the renewed activities and co-operation of present Members to enlist recruits may be more successful. It is possible also that the International Centenary Numismatic Congress held under the auspices of the Royal Numismatic Society, in June last, may serve as a stimulant to the study of numismatics and arouse a little enthusiasm in the unknown possibilities of interest that may be derived from that study.

It is worthy of remark that the new scheme for enlisting the sympathies of the young collector, as outlined in the loose leaflet sent with the last volume of the *Journal*, has at length borne its first fruit, for our energetic Director, Mr. C. E. Blunt, proposed the first nominee at the last Meeting. It is hoped during the year to further this scheme by circularizing the Public Schools through the History masters and so make known the project for the benefit of the youthful student.

In the past the success of our Meetings has been due very largely to the personality of our Presidents, and in this respect our present President, Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, has maintained the traditions of his office. Mr. Crowther-Beynon has presided at all our Meetings save one, when it was impossible for him to do so. His unfailing courtesy at these Meetings and his popularity in the Chair have conduced to the harmony and pleasure of the evenings. It is, therefore, a matter of gratification to the Council that he has permitted his name to be put forward for election again as President for the ensuing year.

Your Hon. Treasurer, Mr. D. H. Whinney, will make his report to you in person and you will, we are sure, unite with us in thanking him for his unremitting care and the indefatigable attention he gives to our financial affairs.

The Society viewed with great regret the enforced resignation of Mr. H. A. Parsons from the post of Librarian, for he has always been most conscientious in carrying out his duties. We are, however, glad to welcome Mr. H. J. Dakers as his successor, and have no hesitation in saying that he will be as worthy of our thanks as his predecessor has been. Various additions have been made to our Library and these have been acknowledged in our monthly reports which are printed in our *Journal*.

Donations to the Society include sums of one guinea each from Miss H. Farquhar and Dr. E. C. Carter. The Council records its thanks to these donors.

To Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Evans and Mr. Christopher E. Blunt our thanks are due for acting as Auditors and to Messrs. Derek Allen and Ivo Pakenham for acting as Scrutators of the ballot to be held this evening.

The Council would like to be in a position to say that the attendance at our Meetings has been more satisfactory, but truth compels them to say that this is not so. The Council would be gratified to see a very great improvement in the coming year.

Members will already have received Volume I of the New Series, and it is sincerely hoped that the new format and size will give as great satisfaction as previous volumes and may perchance be more appreciated in not being so cumbrous. The Council regrets the long delay in issuing this volume, delays due to difficulties with new printers, but it is confidently expected that the delay will be pardoned and overlooked when Members hear that it is hoped to issue another volume quite early in the New Year.

The Secretary and Editor will again be pardoned if he repeats his plea for more papers or contributions of notes for insertion in the *Journal*. The results of Members' researches are always welcomed by their fellow students.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1936

Dr.	<i>EXPENDITURE</i>	£ s. d.		<i>INCOME</i>	£ s. d.	Cr.
To Printing and Stationery		7 11 9	By Subscriptions received for 1936 .	138 12 0		
" Postages		6 18 10	" Subscriptions in arrear received during the year	13 13 0		
" Expenses of Meetings: Rent		35 16 8			152 5 0	
" Sundry Expenses		14 10 1	" Donations:			
" Secretary's Expenses		52 10 0	Dr. E. C. Carter	1 1 0		
" Library Expenses		3 9 0	Miss H. L. Farquhar	1 1 0		
" Expenditure on account of <i>Journal</i> (vol. xxi)		223 15 4			2 2 0	
" Expenditure on account of <i>Journal</i> (vol. xxii)		12 4	" Interest received		49 4 0	
			" Balance being excess of Expenditure over Income transferred to General Purposes Fund		141 13 0	
		£345 4 0			£345 4 0	

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 OCTOBER 1936

[illegible]

AUDITORS' REPORT

WE beg to report to the Members that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. No credit has been taken for Subscriptions in arrear. We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and are of opinion that subject to the above remark, the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Society.

(Signed) GILBERTS, HALLETT AND EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants.*

51 Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2.

On behalf of the Society:

C. L. EVANS } *Hon. Auditors.*
C. E. BLUNT }

19 November 1936



OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

SESSION 1937

President

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents

MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.

E. C. CARTER, M.D., M.R.C.P.

LIEUT.-COLONEL C. L. EVANS

LORD GRANTLEY, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.

L. A. LAWRENCE, F.R.C.S., F.S.A.

R. CYRIL LOCKETT, J.P., F.S.A.

Director

CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, F.S.A.

Treasurer

DOUGLAS H. WHINNEY

Librarian

H. J. DAKERS, M.A.

Secretary

H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.

Council

DEREK F. ALLEN, B.A.

A. E. BAGNALL

A. H. F. BALDWIN

A. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

FRANK E. BURTON, J.P., F.S.A.

J. B. CALDECOTT

W. H. DAY

MISS H. FARQUHAR, F.R. HIST.S.

H. P. HALL

JAMES KENNY

HORACE H. KING

J. O. MANTON, A.R. HIST.S.

IVO PAKENHAM

H. ALEXANDER PARSONS

F. B. PENFOLD, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

- 1903-4 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1905 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1906 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1907 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1908 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1909 W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
- 1910 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1911 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1912 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1913 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1914 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1915 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
- 1916 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1917 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1918 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1919 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1920 FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
- 1921 FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
- 1922 J. SANFORD SALTUS—*till 22 June*
- 1922 GRANT R. FRANCIS—*from 28 June*
- 1923 GRANT R. FRANCIS
- 1924 GRANT R. FRANCIS
- 1925 GRANT R. FRANCIS
- 1926 MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.
- 1927 MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.
- 1928 MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.—*till*
20 February
- 1928 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.—*from 22 February*
- 1929 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1930 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1931 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., F.R.S.A.
- 1932 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., F.R.S.A.
- 1933 V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
- 1934 V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
- 1935 V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
- 1936 V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
- 1937 V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS GOLD MEDAL

This Medal is awarded by ballot of all the Members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interest of numismatic science".

The Medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society, the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

Medallists

- 1910 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1911 MISS HELEN FARQUHAR
- 1914 W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
- 1917 L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.
- 1920 LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
- 1923 H. ALEXANDER PARSONS
- 1926 GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.
- 1929 J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX, R.B.A.
- 1932 CHARLES WINTER
- 1935 RAYMOND C. CARLYON-BRITTON

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 27 JANUARY 1937

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

Mr. Laurence Amberton Kenny was elected a Junior Member of the Society.

The following nomination for Membership was read and ordered to be suspended in the usual manner:

Raymond Turner Barker, New Place, Welwyn, Herts.
and for Junior Membership:

Michael Paul Soper, 42 Hayes Way, Park Langley,
Beckenham.

Presentation to the Library

By the Author, MR. LEOPOLD A. VIDLER: *A History of Rye.*

Exhibitions

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL: Silver Medal of John Philip Kemble.
Reverse legend THE LAST OF ALL THE ROMANS
FARE THEE WELL.

Also three seventeenth-century tokens of Weymouth:

Thomas Hide farthing 1664.

Francis Reed farthing.

James Badd halfpenny 1666.

By MR. J. B. CALDECOTT: Engraved medal given to one of the ladies who embroidered the colours of the Rye volunteers at their incorporation in 1794. The inscription in script lettering on both obverse and reverse is "In Commemoration of elegant industry and female Patriotism". The medal bears a silver hallmark of 1794, and the edge is engraved "Miss Elizth. Lamb". Six only issued.

By MR. R. CYRIL LOCKETT: The following pennies of Stephen:

1. *Castle Rising*, Hks. 269 reading RODBERT:ON:RIS. From the Murdoch and Reynolds collections.
2. *Rye*, Hks. 269 reading RADVL:ON:RIE. From the Carlyon-Britton and Spink collections; was formerly attributed to Castle Rising.

3. *Castle Rising*, B.M.C. Type VI reading ON : RIS.
From the Carlyon-Britton and Wheeler collections.
4. *Castle Rising*, Hks. 268 reading HYN [HIVN] : ON :
RISINGES. From the Rashleigh and Roth collections.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS: The following seventeenth-century tokens:

Rye Town piece.

Thomas Boyce of Rye farthing.

By MR. W. C. WELLS: Cut halfpenny of Stephen, Hks. 270.

Obverse—+∞ C

Reverse—[+RΛDYΛ : ON : RI. Unique as a cut halfpenny of this type.

By MR. LEOPOLD A. VIDLER: The following items relating to Rye:

1. A replica of a Stephen penny of Rye reading RADVLF ON RIE.
2. Upper half of an inlaid floor tile, presumed Edward I, c. 1300, from the Rye Pottery site.
3. Coloured drawing, full size, of a complete tile of Edward I.
4. Coloured drawing, full size, of a complete tile depicting an archbishop, from the same site.
5. Pottery money-box of the same date from the same site.
6. Henry III penny WILLEM ON CANT.
7. Edward I penny of Durham mint.
8. Edward III penny found beneath a house burnt by the French in the raid of 1377, four days after the King's death.
9. The following tokens of Rye:

The Town piece.

An electrotpe of the Town piece slightly different in type.

Thomas Boyce of the Grocer's Arms.

Michell Cadman at the "Mearemade".

William Keye at the "sheepe" (ship).

Thomas Tutty. 1668. This differs from Williamson in having RY for RYE and PENY for PENEY.

G. Bennett's halfpenny of 1796, of which only 30 were struck, as the die broke.

10. Contents of purse or pocket found on the beach on the shore of Rye Bay:
James I shilling.
Five varieties of the farthings of Charles I, Maltravers type 1625.
11. Lead token found in Rye, apparently dated 1729.
12. Hop Tallies—early types.
13. Hop tally mould made of plaster of Paris and used by Carlos Coleman of Brede, Sussex.
14. The following Hop Tallies:
Jeremiah Smith (died 1864).
Samuel Selmes (1772-1852).
Major E. B. Curteis (died 1879). Tally dated 1844.
Richard Kenward. Tally dated 1862.
John Barns (occupied Cadboro' Farm 1722-62).
Thomas Brown Lovett (occupied Cadboro' Farm 1835-75).
Charles Skinner (occupied Watlands Farm 1781-1825).
James Winsor Lord, now living.
Edward John Bates, now living.
15. Jubilee Medal issued by James C. Vidler as Mayor of Rye in 1887.

Paper

A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF RYE

By LEOPOLD A. VIDLER

Mr. Vidler, a new contributor to the pages of our *Journal*, provided a most entertaining paper on the very interesting old town of Rye, a borough, too, that has now been definitely located as a mint town in the Norman period. Coins now allocated to the mint of Rye had previously been assigned to the mint of Castle Rising. The paper was illustrated with a wealth of exhibits all pertaining to that ancient town. It is printed in the present volume of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 24 FEBRUARY 1937

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

Mr. Raymond Turner Barker was elected a Member of the Society and Mr. Michael Paul Soper was elected a Junior Member.

The following nomination for Membership was read and ordered to be suspended in the usual manner:

Godfrey Nicholson, 26 Oxford Square, W. 2.

Exhibitions

By DR. F. O. ARNOLD: Edward V halfpenny.

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL:

1. Edward IV groat of York mint. ϵ on breast. Mint-mark on obverse lis over crown. On reverse lis only.
2. Edward IV groat of York mint. ϵ on breast. Mint-mark lis on obverse and reverse.
3. Edward IV groat of York mint. ϵ on breast. Mint-mark lis on obverse only.
4. Edward IV groat of York mint. No ϵ on breast. Mint-mark lis on obverse only.
5. Edward IV groat of London. Mint-mark on obverse crown; on reverse star or mullet.
6. Edward IV groat of Bristol. $\mathfrak{B}$ on breast. Mint-mark crown on obverse and reverse.
7. Edward IV Irish groat of the 3 crown type.
8. Edward IV Irish half-groat of 3 crown type with mullet stop.
9. Victoria Gothic crown 1847.
10. Victoria Florin 1852. First issue, second type.
11. Victoria Pattern Florin 1848. Reverse ONE DIME, ONE TENTH OF A POUND.
12. Victoria Pattern Florin 1848. Obverse, laureated bust to left. Reverse ONE CENTUM, ONE TENTH OF A POUND., and a large V.R. entwined by rose, thistle, shamrock, and plumes.
13. Victoria Pattern Florin with obverse as the Graceless florin of 1848. Reverse, ONE FLORIN, TWO SHILLINGS, and a large V.R. as before.

14. George V Pattern Double Florin of 1911, with four shields in form of a cross on the reverse, each shield being surmounted by a crown. Silver.
15. The same struck in phosphor bronze.
16. The same struck in copper.
17. Commemorative bronze medal of the Siege of Paris, 1870-1. With this was exhibited a letter carried during the siege by balloon post.
18. Commemorative silver medal depicting the Italian Formation Flight led by Commander Balbo. 18 Planes. 1923.
19. Commemorative medal. Flying Hotel "UIVER". London to Melbourne 1934.
20. Silver medal to Dornier DOX Flying boat 1929.
21. Silver Commemorative medal of the Stratosphere Ascent by Dr. Kipper & Prof. Piccard.

By MR. CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT:

- Edward IV. Two York pennies struck by Archbishop Booth, bearing the initial-mark cinquefoil, a mark hitherto unpublished.
- Edward V. Penny of London, with initial-mark boar's head. Unique and hitherto unpublished.
- Richard III. A cast of the unique London penny in Lord Grantley's collection, for comparison with the last coin.
- Richard III. A tinfoil impression of a York penny in Mr. Shirley-Fox's collection with initial-mark boar's head. The initial-mark on this specimen is rubbed and is very similar to that on the Edward V penny which is similarly rubbed.

By MR. JAMES KENNY:

1. Canterbury half-groat of Henry VIII. Second coinage with no **W** at sides of shield on reverse, probably a "sede-vacante" coin of 1532-3, between Archbishop Warham (1503/32) and Archbishop Cranmer (1533/56). The coin is from the same die as one in the British Museum but is in better condition. The mint-mark is a "picklock", and the coin is not in Brooke.
2. Edward the Confessor small size penny reading **BRVNNAN ON CEN**.
3. Henry VII half-groat of Archbishop Morton. Facing bust, arched crown, saltire cross at sides of head.

m in centre of reverse, which reads CIVITAS CANTOR
Trefoil stops.

4. Edward VI shilling with mint-mark "t" for Wm. Tillesworth, struck before closing of the Canterbury mint in 1550. Date on reverse MDXLIX. First dated English coin.
5. Edward VIII Coronation medalet.

By MR. L. A. LAWRENCE: Angel of Henry VII with initial-mark rose and sun united. Also five varying groats of Edward V with initial-mark rose and sun united.

By MR. J. SHIRLEY-FOX: A series of groats of Edward IV showing the sequence of the initial-marks in his second reign:

1. Initial-mark short cross fitchée on both sides.
2. Initial-mark annulet both sides.
3. Initial-mark annulet enclosing pellet both sides.
4. Initial-mark cross and four pellets on obverse; pierced cross (first variety) on reverse.
5. Initial-mark pierced cross (first variety) both sides.
6. Initial-mark cross and one pellet. Obverse +. reverse +
7. Initial-mark pierced cross (second variety) both sides.
8. Initial-mark pierced cross with pellet filling the piercing both sides.
9. Initial-mark cinquefoil both sides.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS: Richard III groat of London, with initial-mark boar's head on both sides.

Also two varieties of groat of Richard III, with initial-mark on both sides a sun and rose.

Paper

THE COINAGE OF EDWARD V, WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE LATER ISSUES OF EDWARD IV

By CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT

Mr. Blunt contributed another of his carefully prepared papers, this time on the coinage of Edward V, an obscure reign that in the past has produced many doubtful and contested attributions, through the lack of existing definite evidence. The paper, which provoked much helpful and informative discussion, is printed in the present volume.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 24 MARCH 1937

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, M.P., was elected a Member of the Society.

The following nomination for Membership was read and ordered to be suspended in the usual manner:

Anthony Gilchrist Wrightson, 11 Phillimore Terrace,
Allen Street, London, W. 8.

Exhibitions

By MR. DEREK F. ALLEN: Two tokens with heads of George III and the Duke of York offensively described in a contemporary price list of Spence's.

By MR. A. H. F. BALDWIN: A series of Political tokens, including the complete set of Spence's reverses, and the very rare Corresponding Society penny in silver.

By MR. FRANK E. BURTON: Proofs of the penny of Newstead Abbey.

By MR. JAMES KENNY: Coins struck by various Bishops:

Durham pennies:

Edward I Class iv, by Bishop Bek, 1283/1310. Bek's cross moline on both sides.

Edward I Class ix, by Bishop Bek. Star on breast and Bek's cross moline on obverse.

Edward II Class xi, by Bishop Kellawe, 1310/16. Jewel of crown bent to left, crosier on reverse to left.

Edward II Class xv, by Bishop Beaumont, 1316/33. Lion and lis mint-mark.

Edward III, by Bishop Hatfield, 1345/81. With crosier on reverse, bent to right.

Edward III—a similar coin with crosier to right.

Durham Sovereign-type pennies:

Henry VII. Struck by Bishop Sherwood, 1483/94. D S on either side of shield on reverse.

Henry VIII. Struck by Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall, 1530/60. C.D. at sides of shield on reverse and mint-mark star.

Henry VIII. Another coin of Bishop Tunstall of similar type.

Henry VIII. Struck by Bishop Thomas Ruthall, 1509/23. T.D. above shield on reverse and mint-mark lis.

Henry VII. Struck by Bishop Richard Fox, 1494/1502. R.D. at sides of shield on reverse. Hawkins says perhaps for Thos. Ruthall.

York coins of two Bishops:

Henry VII half-groat with no tressure, resembling a penny. This has a facing bust and mint-mark martlet. Struck by Bishop Savage, 1501/7.

Henry VII penny of sovereign type, struck by Bishop Rotherham, 1480/1500. Keys at side of shield on reverse.

Also the following coins of Edward VIII:

A Territory of New Guinea penny, 1936, with E.R.I. on obverse.

Three nickel coins of British West Africa—one-tenth of a penny, one halfpenny, and one penny. Obverse reads EDWARDUS VIII REX ET IND: IMP:

Also a circular plaque with the farewell speech of Edward VIII, broadcast from Windsor Castle on 11th December 1936.

By DR. F. B. PENFOLD: A possible seventeenth-century token

Obverse legend $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{S} \\ \text{GER} \\ \text{VAIS} \end{Bmatrix}$ With two lines above and below.

Date 1630 in position of exergue.

Reverse XII D. Two lines above and below.

Possibly French.

2. A token or truck ticket

Obverse A L with rose above and below.

Reverse T L with rose above and below.

3. A truck ticket (?) reading 16 H 91 on both sides.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS: A series of eighteenth-century Political Tokens in illustration of the paper.

These are 1. Countermarked Spenconian Slogans.

2. Political Characters of the period.

3. Spence's Reverse dies.

4. The Badminton series.

Paper

POLITICAL TOKENS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By DEREK ALLEN

The Meeting was unanimous in according to Mr. Derek Allen a very hearty vote of thanks for the highly interesting evening he had provided. Mr. Allen seems to have a flair for arousing a lively interest in any branch of numismatics, even though some of his audience have not studied that particular branch. The paper was illustrated by means of the epidiascope.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 28 APRIL 1937

LT.-COL. C. L. EVANS, *Vice-President, in the Chair*,

In the regrettable absence through illness of the President, Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, Lt.-Col. C. L. Evans, Vice-President, was unanimously elected to the Chair.

Mr. Anthony Gilchrist Wrightson was elected a Member of the Society.

The following nominations for Membership were read and ordered to be suspended in the usual manner:

Donald Sherratt, 2 The Close, Bentinck Road, Altrincham, Cheshire.

Alister Carmichael Strand, 14, Lismore Road, South Croydon, Surrey.

Exhibitions

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL: A varied selection of coin-weights.

By MR. C. E. BLUNT: Henry V groat with "Emaciated Bust" and stunted lettering. The obverse is earlier than the reverse. Very rare obverse type.

Henry VII half-groat of the second coinage, Canterbury mint. The obverse die was prepared for use in London and subsequently altered for use in Canterbury. The name **ANTOR** is struck over **LONDON**, traces of which can still be seen. The initial-mark, a lis, may have been tampered with too, and it is likely that a lozenge originally existed

in the middle of the reverse and that this has been cut away. Unpublished.

By DR. A. N. BRUSHFIELD: Four Gibraltar checks: R & J ABRINES; SECCION RECREATIVA; CIRCULO RECREATIVO; and another with the figures 58, which may be a canteen check.

By MR. H. J. DAKERS: Two halfpennies of David II, neither of which were known to Burns. On one of the halfpennies there is the letter I in one of the quarters of the reverse which may possibly be the privy mark of the moneyer *Jacobus Mulekyn*.

By LT.-COL. C. L. EVANS: Coronation Medals of George II (copper), William IV and Adelaide (brass), and Victoria (brass). Also a Coronation Medal of George VI and Elizabeth in chocolate.

By MR. JAMES KENNY: A debased halfpenny of Edward VI with the head of Henry VIII, but with the Roman N's. Canterbury mint. Also the Threepence and Sixpence of George VI, and two pennies of 1912, one with H in exergue for Birmingham mint and one without the H.

By MR. H. H. KING: The penny and two-shilling piece of George VI.

By DR. F. B. PENFOLD: A brass coin-weight. Also Sovereign scales issued by the OLMSTED STOVE COMPANY—PATENT N^o. 1384. JUNE 15. 1842.

By MR. J. SHIRLEY-FOX: Halfpenny of John Baliol of St. Andrews, with mint name. Unpublished and unique. This piece was the subject of one of the papers read during the evening and published in this number of the *Journal*.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS: The following coins, medals, and tokens, for demonstration by the epidiascope:

Charles II silver medal.—Embarkation from Scheveningen.

Silver medal of Viscount Howe and the Glorious 1st of June, 1794.

Bronze medal of Sir Christopher Wren, by Wilson. Seringapatam medal in copper.

Davison's medal for the Nile in copper-gilt.

- Medal commemorating the Meeting of the Scientific Congress of France at Nimes, 1844, with the heads of Octavianus and Agrippa, and the Roman coin from which it was copied.
- Silver bust of Charles I, with head as on the Dominion of the Sea Medal.
- Pattern groat of Edward I.
- Cromwell Ninepence, 1658.
- Henry VIII base metal penny of London, in very fine condition.
- Charles II penny by Simon.
- Strip of four Royal Farthings of Charles I, with mint-mark rose.
- Van Tromp Memorial Medal.
- Eadgar penny FARDEN MO.
- Burgred penny DIGA MONETA.
- Aelfred penny VVLFRED
- Commonwealth half-unite, 1651.
- Charles I pattern half-groat and penny by Briot.
- Anne farthing, 1714 (ex Montagu collection).
- Hackney Church token, Middlesex D. & H. 24.
- Newcastle-on-Tyne penny token, 1797, Northumberland D. & H. 1.
- Birmingham Association Colours presented. Reverse, End of Bunepart and the French Arms, Warwickshire D. & H. 29.
- Windsor halfpenny token, 1795. Berks. D. & H. 1a.
- Hereford, J. Gorton, 1794, Hereford D. & H. 6a.

Papers

AN ENGLISH FOURTEENTH-CENTURY COIN-WEIGHT

By DEREK ALLEN B.A.

AND

AN UNPUBLISHED HALFPENNY OF JOHN BALIOL

By J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX, R.B.A.

Two most interesting papers were contributed by the above authors. Although short, the papers were of considerable importance and are printed in the present volume of the *Journal*.

The rest of the evening was devoted to an exhibition through the medium of the epidiascope, of such coins and medals, &c., as had been specially selected by the exhibitors for a trial test of this instrument. The test was eminently satisfactory and should prove very valuable in the future where no slides or plaster casts are available. It is also a great time-saving and labour-saving device.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 26 MAY 1937

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

Mr. Donald Sherratt and Mr. Alister Carmichael Strand were elected Members of the Society.

Exhibitions

By MR. A. H. F. BALDWIN: The following coins of Edward VI:
Gold: Half sovereign of Henry VIII type and titles.

Half sovereign of Henry VIII, with Edward's title.

Mint-mark E on obverse, and E below shield on reverse.

Sovereign 2nd issue with mint-mark Y.

Half sovereign 2nd issue with mint-mark bolt.

Crown 2nd issue with mint-mark bolt.

Half sovereign 3rd issue mint-mark bolt.

Half-crown 3rd issue mint-mark grapple.

Sovereign 4th issue mint-mark Y.

Half sovereign 4th issue mint-mark ton.

Silver: Henry VIII portrait Tournay groat reading **ÆGWE**.

Three Canterbury half-groats reading **EDWARD**, all from different dies.

By DR. E. C. CARTER: Edward VI half-crown with mint-mark ton, and date 1551.

By MR. JAMES KENNY: A selection of coins of Henry VIII and Edward VI, in illustration of his paper.

Also a specimen of an Edward VI testoon or shilling, and an example of a "shovel board" as used at that period.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS:

Henry VIII Canterbury half-groat.

Two Henry VIII Canterbury pennies.

Henry VIII Canterbury halfpenny in very fine condition.

Henry VIII halfpenny with mint-mark portcullis, found at Dunwich.

Paper

THE CANTERBURY COINAGE OF EDWARD VI, AND THE
CLOSING OF THE CANTERBURY MINT

By JAMES KENNY

Mr. Kenny contributed a paper on the above subject, which provided a very entertaining evening. Mr. Kenny interested himself specially in coins relating to the Kentish mints and to coins issued by various Archbishops of Canterbury. His sudden death has robbed the Society of a most enthusiastic supporter.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 23 JUNE 1937

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

The evening was devoted to a special exhibition of coins, medals, and numismatic relics of the Stuart period. The outstanding feature of the exhibits was the extensive collection of coins of Charles I, from the cabinet of Mr. H. P. Hall. The exhibition was the more interesting from the fact that Mr. Hall read copious notes relating to his various exhibits.

Exhibitions

By MISS H. FARQUHAR: A fine selection of the work of Thomas Simon and other Stuart relics.

By MR. H. P. HALL: A fine collection of coins of the Stuart period, mostly of the reigns of James I and Charles I, comprising about 150 varieties.

By MR. JAS. KENNY: Various Stuart silver coins including: Oxford groats and threepenny pieces of Charles I. Coins of James I.

Aberystwith groats and threepenny pieces of Charles I, seven varieties.

Various pennies and halfpennies of the Stuart period.

Half-crown, shilling, sixpence, and twopence of the Tower mint of Charles I, with mint-mark Triangle.

By MISS DOROTHY M. STOTT:

James I Quarter Laurel, mint-mark trefoil.

James I Half Laurel, mint-mark lis.

James I Laurel, mint-mark rose.

Charles I Quarter Unite, mint-mark plume.

Charles I Unite, mint-mark lis.

Charles II Pattern Halfpenny (QVATVOR·MARIA·VINDICO).

James III Touchpiece.

Copy of Jacobite Toast "£3 15 5", i.e. James III, Louis XV of France, Philip V of Spain.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS: Stuart coins and medals &c.:

Pontefract siege piece 1648.

Coins of Charles I including Shrewsbury half-crown, Bristol half-groat, Lundy Island groat 1646, Briot's penny, and a strip of 4 Royal farthing tokens with mint-mark rose.

Coronation medalet (uniface) of Charles I, by Briot.

Charles I medalet with Royal Arms engraved on reverse.

Charles I Memorial medals by Roettiers with reverse hand from cloud (one in silver and another in bronze.)

Charles I Memorial badge.

Charles I medalet on the "Outbreak of Civil War and surrender of Bristol, 1643", by Rawlins. Legend IN VTRVMQVE PARATVS, 1643.

Charles I Scottish Coronation medal.

Charles I medalet with legend REGIT VNVS VTROQVE 1628.

Charles I silver plaque with bust as on the Dominion of the Sea medal.

Charles I bronze plaque with bust, by Obrisset.

Charles I gold crown with mint-mark sun.

Charles II small uniface portrait.

Charles II medal for the Embarkation from Scheveningen 1660.

Charles II medal for the Treaty of Breda.

Silver medal of James II and Prince James the Pretender, by Briot.

Bronze medal of Prince Charles the Pretender with legend
AMOR ET SPES.

also M.S. 1630-2. Composition and Fines levied on those
who should have applied for Knighthood for Charles I's
Coronation.

Original escheat and re-grant of Moyle's Court after the
Trial by Judge Jeffreys of Alice and John Lisle.

By MR. W. C. WELLS:

Medals of Mrs. Claypole, daughter of Oliver Cromwell, who
resided at Northborough Manor House, Northampton-
shire.

Portrait medal of Mrs. Cromwell, who resided with her
daughter at Northborough. The British Museum speci-
men is the only other known.

Portrait medal of John Claypole, husband of above.

Award in gold for the Battle of Naseby, 1645. Also
specimens of the large size in silver and the small size
in silver-gilt.

ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, 27 OCTOBER 1937

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair*

The following nominations for Membership were read and
ordered to be suspended in the usual manner:

James Davidson, M.B., Ch.B., F.R.C.P.E.

Thomas Malcolm Turner (as a Junior Member).

Cuthbert Alexander Whitton, B.A. (Lond.).

The list of Officers and Council nominated for the ensuing
year was duly presented to the Meeting.

Exhibitions

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL: The following Early English pennies:

Aethelbearht of Wessex with reverse BVRNVALD.

Cnut and Siefred of Northumbria jointly.

St. Eadmund with reverse DAEMOND (for DAECMOND).

St. Eadmund with reverse BOSECIN MOINTT (for BOME-
CIN).

St. Eadmund with reverse ERSALT

By MR. CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT: The following coins of Edward IV:

Heavy penny of London. The obverse is of the later heavy type with initial-mark rose and quatrefoil by neck. The reverse is of the earlier heavy issue with extra pellets in two quarters. A hitherto unpublished variety. Wt. $12\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

Heavy groat. A mule between the earlier and later heavy type. The obverse being early and the reverse later.

Light half-groat of London with initial-mark restoration cross on obverse only. An unpublished initial-mark on the half-groat.

By MR. H. ALEXANDER PARSONS: Penny of Eadmund of York reading EO (an abbreviation of Eoferwic) on the obverse.

By DR. F. B. PENFOLD:

Medal of the Neptunean Society, 1788.

Harrington half-farthing of James I.

Georgian coin weights and scales.

Victorian scales for sovereign.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS: The following Colonial countermarked coins:

Jamaica. Set of four pieces countermarked GR.

Jamaica. Set of four pieces countermarked GR crowned.

Canada with countermark GR 5.

Barbadoes penny countermarked GR crowned.

New South Wales Fifteenpence.

Tortola—four varieties.

Dominica 1 bit.

Tobago countermarked T (octagonal).

Grenada with countermark G.

St. Lucia 3 bits.

The Saints Islands with countermark TORTOLA and SSS.

William IV Sixpence countermarked T for Tobago.

Sierra Leone with countermark W.R. crowned.

Guadeloupe 20 sous with countermark G.

Martinique.

Martinique with heart-shape perforation.

Martinique with heart-shape perforation and II.

Azores—two varieties with G P crowned.

Three others—probably private marks, TR and crown; W; and another with a crown.

Also a Box Thaler with miniatures in oils painted inside the coin itself.

Paper

THE COINS OF EADMUND'S MONEYSERS FARAMAN AND
INGELGAR, A.D. 939-46

By H. ALEXANDER PARSONS

In Mr. Parsons's unavoidable absence Mr. Christopher E. Blunt read the interesting paper on the significance of the letters EO on coins of Eadmund struck by the above moneyers. Apart from the new theories advanced by Mr. Parsons the paper was useful in the discussion it provoked. It will be printed in a future volume of the *Journal*.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

TUESDAY, 30 NOVEMBER 1937

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

THE President referred to the loss sustained by Dr. L. A. Lawrence, an original Founder of the Society, in the sudden death of his wife, and moved a vote of sympathy and condolence with the bereaved family.

Mr. James Davidson, M.B., Ch.B., F.R.C.P.E., and Mr. Cuthbert Alexander Whitton, B.A., Lond., were elected Members, and Mr. Thomas Malcolm Turner a Junior Member of the Society.

The Council's Report, which with the Treasurer's Accounts is printed later, was read by the Secretary, and unanimously adopted.

The Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Douglas H. Whinney, presented the Society's Accounts for the year. They were explained in detail and comparison made with the previous year. The Meeting congratulated Mr. Whinney upon his Accounts and passed them unanimously. Votes of thanks were passed to the Treasurer and to the Auditors, Mr. R. Cyril Lockett and Dr. F. B. Penfold.

Mr. H. H. King and Mr. W. C. Wells having been appointed Scrutators, the ballot for the Officers and Council for 1938 was duly taken and the result was as follows:

Officers and Council for 1938

President: H. W. Taffs, M.B.E.

Vice-Presidents: A. E. Bagnall; A. N. Brushfield, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.; V. B. Crowther-Beynon, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.; Miss H. Farquhar, F.R.Hist.S.; Lord Grantley, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.; Horace H. King.

Director: Christopher E. Blunt, F.S.A.

Treasurer: Douglas H. Whinney.

Librarian: H. J. Dakers, M.A.

Secretary: Derek F. Allen, B.A.

Council: F. O. Arnold, M.A., M.D.; A. H. F. Baldwin; Frank E. Burton, J.P., F.S.A.; J. B. Caldecott; Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.; E. C. Carter, M.D., M.R.C.P.; W. H. Day; Lieut.-Col. C. L. Evans; H. P. Hall; James Kenny; L. A. Lawrence, F.R.C.S., F.S.A.; R. Cyril Lockett, J.P., F.S.A.; J. O. Manton, A.R.Hist.S.; H. Alexander Parsons; F. B. Penfold, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

A vote of thanks was passed to the Scrutators.

At the close of the ballot the retiring President, Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, vacated the Chair in favour of the new President, Mr. H. W. Taffs. At the same time Mr. Crowther-Beynon took the opportunity of addressing a few valedictory remarks. He thanked the Council and all the Members for their unremitting kindness to him personally and for the very generous support and help that had been given to him throughout his term of office, and no one more than he regretted that the distance of his new home would prevent him seeing his old friends as frequently as he had done in the past. He welcomed most cordially the new President and the new Secretary. In reply Mr. Taffs thanked the Council and Members for the great honour they had bestowed in making him their new President. He said he would do his utmost to justify the selection of the voters, and he felt assured that the whole-hearted support that had been given to his predecessors in office would be accorded to him. Mr. Taffs then moved a vote of thanks to the retiring President, which was seconded by Mr. C. E. Blunt. Both proposer and seconder paid a warm tribute to Mr. Crowther-Beynon's success as President during his five years of office. The vote of thanks was carried unanimously.

The rest of the evening was devoted to the exhibition of coins and medals.

Exhibitions

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL: Two very fine First Brass coins of Vespasian, one with reverse "Judea Capta" and the other with reverse "Victoria Augusti", both from the Campian Sale.

By DR. F. B. PENFOLD: The following medals:—

St. Ronan's Border Club. Rifle medal for 1830 and 1831. Similar medal with names of winners engraved for years 1830-5.

Society of St. Edmund's Archers established March 1827.

The medal exhibited was a Captain's medal for 1834.

By CAPT. C. H. DAKERS: The following Scottish coins:—

Alexander III

1. Halfpenny. *Obverse* ALEXANDER DEI GRA
Reverse REX SCOTORVM★

Mullets first and third quarters. 10 grains.

2. Farthing. *Obverse* ALEXANDER REX
Reverse SCOTORVM

Mullets in all four quarters. 4½ grains.

3. A coin with *obverse* ALEXANDER DEI GRA
and *reverse* REX SCOTORVM★

Mullets in all four quarters. 6½ grains.

The denomination of the last coin is doubtful. It has the inscription as on the halfpenny and the mullets as on the farthing. The weight is between the two.

By MISS D. M. STOTT:

A series of coins including a pattern Double-florin (struck by the late Mr. Huth) of George V, 1914.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS: A selection of Saxon pennies, &c.:—

Aethelstan LIFPALD MO LONDEI

Aethelred II OSLAC ON LINCOLNE

Alfred VVLFRED

„ BYRNELM

St Eadmund MEVØNRENV

Eadgar HEROLF MONE

„ ALBVTE MO

Burgred GVØHERE

Eadred GRIMES MOT

„ EADWEN MON

Eadred ÆTARDES MOT

Eadward the Elder BEORNERE M̄O

Eadwig HERIGER MO

Harold II SIDEW..N ON PAL (Wallingford)

„ OSPOLD ON LEPEEI (Lewes)

Henry VI, London halfpenny, with pine cone on breast and trefoil in obverse legend. Weight 7 grains.

James II, tin halfpenny, 1685, in very fine condition.

St. Patrick's halfpenny; proof in silver.

William and Mary, tin halfpenny, 1690.

Gothic Crown, three varieties.

Victoria, halfpenny, 1868; proof in tin or nickel.

George III, Britanniarum penny; pattern, 1805.

Victoria, pattern penny, 1865, with coronet.

Charles II, pattern halfpenny; QVATVOR MARIA VINDICO

Victoria, proof of "Graceless" florin, 1848, with plain edge.

Commonwealth, half-unite, 1651.

William IV, crown, 1831.

By MR. W. C. WELLS: Silver Free Life Ticket, London and Greenwich Rly. Earl of Chesterfield, Estate Pass.

The Council's Report

30 November 1937

The Council has the honour to present its Thirty-third Annual Report to the Members, and in doing so announces with pleasure that the list of sixteen Royal Members and two Honorary Members remains the same as last year.

The Council, whilst regretting the loss through death of one of its Members, is pleased to record that this loss is one of the lowest for some years past. The only loss, therefore, of which the Council has knowledge is that of Mr. Matthew Alfred Brigg, a Member since 1910. Although Mr. Brigg had contributed no paper to the pages of our *Journal*, and was not able to attend the Meetings by reason of his residence in Yorkshire, yet he had ever been a loyal supporter of the work of the Society since his election in 1910.

The Council also regrets the resignation from various causes of eleven other Members. The Council notes that the principal causes for resignation are loss of interest occasioned by the infirmities of increasing years, or the necessity

of curtailing subscriptions through financial causes, by which this Society has suffered in common with others.

On the other hand the Council has pleasure in welcoming the following new Members:

Raymond Turner Barker.

James Davidson, M.B., Ch.B., F.R.C.P.E.

Laurence Amberton Kenny (a Junior Member).

Godfrey Nicholson, M.P.

Donald Sherratt.

Michael Paul Soper (a Junior Member).

Alister Carmichael Strand.

Thomas Malcolm Turner (a Junior Member).

Cuthbert Alexander Whitton.

Anthony Gilchrist Wrightson.

The Society's ordinary Membership, therefore, shows a net reduction of two Members. It is very satisfactory, however, to observe that the recruitment of new Members has been more successful this year than in any year since 1930, with the single exception of 1933, in which year we had also ten new Members. It is pleasing to notice, too, that of the ten new Members this year, three are Junior Members, for it is to the influx of these Junior Members that we look to carry on the interest in the work of the Society, and to continue those researches which in the past have proved so valuable in elucidating some of the many problems that confront the student. This increase in new Members, combined with a slight increase in the attendance at the Meetings of the Society, may be construed, in the opinion of the Council, as a happy augury of a revival in the interest in the Science, which will in itself stimulate further efforts to recruitment, and encourage the preparation of papers to be submitted at the Meetings. This age we are told is the age of Youth, and the Council has nothing but praise to bestow on those younger Members of the Society who, during the past two years have done valuable work; yet we feel sure that those younger Members will be the first to give credit to the pioneer work done by the older Members, in perhaps more difficult circumstances, and whose place the Council has every confidence will be creditably maintained, both to their own credit and to the credit of the Society, by this new blood.

When the late Lieut.-Col. H. W. Morrieson retired in November 1932 from the President's Chair, much was

expected from the new President, Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, and not for one moment has the wisdom of the choice made by the Council been in any doubt. Mr. Crowther-Beynon amply fulfilled all expectations, and as the years passed the popularity of the retiring President became more marked, for he worthily carried on the traditions of the past; and if anything has helped to keep the Society together it has been that same popularity, coupled with his genial courtesy and business acumen. Mr. Crowther-Beynon is an expert on Coin Scales and Money Weights, and has given several interesting papers and placed on record several new varieties of scale boxes and weights, and his exhibitions have always aroused interest. It is to his wide knowledge of the subject that Members frequently appeal for information and get it. It is a matter of deep regret to the Council that his retirement from the Presidency after the normal five years coincides with his retirement to the country, to a distance from which it will be difficult for him to be a regular attendant at the Meetings. The Council has no hesitation in placing on record that Mr. Crowther-Beynon can be as assured of its hearty good wishes in his retirement as the Council feels sure that Mr. Crowther-Beynon will have many pleasant memories of his friends in this Society.

The Council proposes as successor in the Presidential Chair Mr. H. W. Taffs. Mr. Taffs has for the last twelve years been the Secretary of the Society and has done extremely valuable work both in this capacity and as Editor of the *Journal*. It is in recognition of this work, and as a means of expressing their appreciation of it, that they put forward his name for election as President of the Society. They feel confident that he will make a worthy successor to Mr. Crowther-Beynon and they assure him of their support.

Your Hon. Treasurer, Mr. D. H. Whinney, will make his own report to you in person, and the thanks of the Council are again due to him for his lucid statements of the accounts and for his general nursing of the Society's financial affairs in difficult times.

Thanks are also due to our Librarian, Mr. H. J. Dakers, who is always at the beck and call of Members who wish to borrow from our extensive Library. Any additions to the Library have been duly acknowledged in our monthly reports.

Donations to the Society include sums of one guinea each

from Mr. A. E. Bagnall, Dr. E. C. Carter, and Miss H. Farquhar. The Council records its thanks to these donors.

To Mr. R. Cyril Lockett and to Dr. F. B. Penfold our thanks are due for acting as Auditors and to Messrs. H. H. King and W. C. Wells as Scrutators of the ballot to be held this evening.

Mr. C. E. Blunt, our Director, is to be congratulated on his first essay as Editor of the Society's *Journal* in the production of Part I of Volume II of the Third Series, which he undertook jointly with the Secretary.

Reference has already been made to the slight improvement in the attendance at our Meetings, but the Council earnestly trusts that this attendance will show still further improvement during the next and succeeding sessions.

One other change may be forecast in this Report of the Council. Subject to the ballot to be held this evening, Mr. Derek F. Allen has been nominated as Secretary of the Society, and the Society is to be heartily congratulated on having secured his permission to allow his name to stand for election. His position at the British Museum, unique in its opportunities for acquiring new Members, and his rapidly increasing knowledge of British Numismatics should prove valuable factors in furthering the aims and objects of the Society. Your retiring Secretary, Mr. H. W. Taffs, would like to take this opportunity of thanking most sincerely all those Members of the Council and Members of the Society generally for the very loyal support and help that has been so generously and willingly meted out to him during his twelve years of office. This loyalty has made the work of the Society, at times in strenuous years, a genuine pleasure and labour of love and the remembrance of that association will always be nothing but a pleasant one. Mr. Taffs sincerely trusts that that same loyalty will be as generously accorded to his successor.

By the time this report is published Members will have become aware that the Society has moved its quarters to 21 Bedford Square, W.C., where the Council has no doubt it will receive the same cordial consideration from its landlords, the Royal Anthropological Institute, as it has received from them in the past.

In conclusion let it be stated again that the Editors will be grateful for any contributions in the shape of papers or notes submitted for the pages of the *Journal*.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1937

EXPENDITURE

	£	s.	d.
To Printing and Stationery	7	10	6
„ Postages	6	15	8
„ Expenses of Meeting: Rent	40	0	0
„ Sundry Expenses	13	18	4
„ Secretary's Expenses	52	10	0
„ Library Expenses	2	6	11
„ Expenditure on account of <i>Journal</i> (vol. xxii)	122	16	1

£245 17 6

INCOME

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Subscriptions received for 1937	151	4	0			
„ Subscriptions in arrear received during the year	24	3	0			
				175	7	0
„ Donations:						
Dr. E. C. Carter	1	1	0			
Miss H. L. Farquhar	1	1	0			
A. E. Bagnall, Esq.	1	1	0			
				3	3	0
„ Interest received				51	3	10
„ Balance being excess of Expenditure over Income Transferred to General Purposes Fund				16	3	8

£245 17 6

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 OCTOBER 1937

[illegible]

AUDITORS' REPORT

WE beg to report to the Members that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. No credit had been taken for Subscriptions in arrear at 31st October 1937. We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society and are of opinion that subject to the above remark the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the books of the Society.

(Signed) GILBERTS, HALLETT AND EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants.*
51 Coleman Street, London, E.C.2.

26 November 1937.

On behalf of the Society: R. CYRIL LOCKETT } *Hon. Auditors.*
FRED. B. PENFOLD }

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

ON 30 NOVEMBER 1937

ROYAL MEMBERS

HER MAJESTY QUEEN MARY.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF WINDSOR.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS BEATRICE.

In Alphabetical Order.

HER MAJESTY DOWAGER QUEEN OF THE BELGIANS.
HIS MAJESTY CHRISTIAN X, KING OF DENMARK AND ICELAND.
HER MAJESTY ALEXANDRINE, QUEEN OF DENMARK AND ICELAND.
HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF ITALY.
HIS MAJESTY HAAKON VII, KING OF NORWAY.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF NORWAY.
HIS MAJESTY KING ALFONSO XIII.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA EUGÉNIE.
HIS MAJESTY GUSTAV, KING OF SWEDEN.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCESS OF SWEDEN.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN AMELIA.

HONORARY MEMBERS

In Order of Election.

- 1903 SIR HENRY CHURCHILL MAXWELL-LYTE, K.C.B., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A.,
Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, 61 Warwick Square,
London, S.W. 1.
1905 VERNON HORACE RENDALL, ESQ., B.A., 107 Edith Road, West Ken-
sington, London, W. 15.
1922 ELLISTON, G. S., ESQ., M.C., M.A., 1 Thornhaugh Street, London,
W.C. 1.

MEMBERS

*The sign * signifies that the member has compounded for his annual
subscription. The sign † indicates a Junior member.*

- 1905 *a-ABABRELTON, ROBERT, ESQ., F.R.E.S., F.R.G.S., Post Box 322,
Pietermaritzburg, Natal, South Africa; 30 Killyon Road, Clapham
Rise, London, S.W. 4.
1904 ABERDEEN, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY, G. M. Fraser, Esq., Librarian,
Aberdeen.

- 1907 ABERDEEN, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, W. Douglas Simpson, Esq., D.Litt., Librarian, Aberdeen.
- 1935 ALLEN, DEREK F., ESQ., B.A., 14 Great Ormond Street, London, W.C. 1.
- 1906 AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, THE, 156th Street, West of Broadway, New York, U.S.A.
- 1906 ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON, THE SOCIETY OF, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W. 1.
- 1915 ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND, THE SOCIETY OF, Edinburgh, J. Graham Callander, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., Secretary.
- 1935 ARNOLD, FREDERICK OCTAVIUS, ESQ., M.A., M.D., Wynthorpe, Hale, Cheshire.
- 1936 †ASSHETON, JOHN R., ESQ., c/o H. H. S. Hartley, Esq., Eton College, Windsor.
- 1922 BAGNALL, A. E., ESQ., 3 Castle Road, Shipley, Yorkshire.
- 1923 BALDWIN, A. H. F., ESQ., 3 Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.
- 1937 BARKER, RAYMOND TURNER, ESQ., New Place, Welwyn, Herts.
- 1904 *BARNARD, ROBERT, ESQ., M.E., C.C.M., M.I.M.E., c/o Messrs. Gibson & Weldon, 27 Chancery Lane, London, W.C.2.
- 1930 BAVARIAN STATE LIBRARY, The Librarian, Munich, c/o A. Asher & Co., Buchhandlung, Behrenstrasse, 17, Berlin, W.8.
- 1903 BAYLEY, ARTHUR R., ESQ., B.A., Cotford, Graham Road, Malvern.
- 1909 BELFAST CENTRAL PUBLIC LIBRARY, J. B. Goldsbrough, Esq., Chief Librarian, Belfast, Ireland.
- 1911 BERRY, SIR JAMES, F.R.C.S., Kirby Gate, Westmead, Roehampton, S.W. 15.
- 1904 BIRKENHEAD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES, John Shepherd, Esq., Librarian, Central Library, Birkenhead.
- 1906 BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES, H. M. Cashmore, Esq., The City Librarian, Birmingham, 1.
- 1933 BLUNT, CHRISTOPHER E., ESQ., F.S.A., 15 Gerald Road, London, S.W. 1.
- 1906 BOILEAU, LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR RAYMOND FREDERIC, BART., Ketteringham Park, Wymondham, Norfolk.
- 1907 BOOTLE CENTRAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM, THE, C. H. Hunt, Esq., Librarian and Curator, Oriel Road, Bootle, Lancashire.
- 1930 BOURNEMOUTH PUBLIC LIBRARIES, Charles Riddle, Esq., Borough Librarian, Central Library, Bournemouth, Hants.
- 1903 *BOWLES, COLONEL SIR HENRY FERRYMAN, BART., M.A., J.P., Forty Hall, Enfield, Middlesex.
- 1933 *BRIGGS, L. CABOT, ESQ., 64 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1904 BRIGHTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, Henry D. Roberts, Esq., Director, Brighton.
- 1934 BROOKE, WILLIAM ARCHER, ESQ., Spring House, Thetford, Norfolk.
- 1909 BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY, Milton, J. Ferguson, Esq., Librarian, 1 Hanson Place, Brooklyn, New York, U.S.A.
- 1927 BROWNING, WILLIAM HENRY, ESQ., Chiddingstone, Bexley Road, Eltham, S.E. 9.
- 1915 BRUSHFIELD, A. N., ESQ., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 48 Queen's Road, Finsbury Park, London, N. 4.

- 1934 BUNN, C. J., ESQ., 125 Grove Lane, Camberwell, S.E. 5.
1926 *BURR, CHARLES W., ESQ., M.D., 1918 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
1911 BURTON, FRANK ERNEST, ESQ., J.P., F.S.A., Orston Hall, Nottinghamshire.
1903 CALDECOTT, J. B., ESQ., F.S.A., Amberley, near Arundel, Sussex.
1908 CAMBRIDGE, THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM. Louis C. G. Clarke, Esq., Director.
1904 CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, A. F. Scholfield, Esq., Librarian.
1922 *CAMPBELL, MRS. ROBERT JAMES, Hotel Weylin, 40 East 54th Street, New York, U.S.A.
1904 CARDIFF FREE LIBRARIES, Harry Farr, Esq., Librarian.
1903 *CARLYON-BRITTON, MAJOR P. W. P., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., Eversfield, Fishbourne, near Chichester.
1911 CARLYON-BRITTON, RAYMOND C., ESQ., Eversfield, Fishbourne, near Chichester.
1906 CARTER, ERNEST CHRISTISON, ESQ., M.D., M.R.C.P., "The Elms", Forty Hill, Enfield, Middlesex.
1929 CHECKLEY, JAMES FREDERICK HAYSELDEN, ESQ., 26 Maple Avenue, Maidstone, Kent.
1914 CHRISTOPHER, RICHARD THORNEY, ESQ., West View, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire.
1930 CLARK, ENO HARRY, ESQ., 119 Chatham Road, Maidstone.
1904 COLCHESTER, THE CORPORATION OF, Sir Gurney Benham, F.S.A., Chairman of Colchester and Essex Museum, Colchester.
1909 CONGRESS, LIBRARY OF, Washington, D.C. U.S.A., Herbert Putnam, Esq., Litt.D., LL.D., Librarian, c/o Messrs. Edward G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W. 2.
1909 CORNWALL, THE ROYAL INSTITUTION, COUNTY MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY OF TRURO, George Penrose, Esq., Curator.
1931 CROSS, ALBERT PEARL, ESQ., 35 St. Martin's Court, London, W.C. 2.
1922 CROWTHER-BEYNON, VERNON B., ESQ., M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., Beckington, Bath.
1922 CUNNINGTON, THOMAS M., ESQ., Heylesbury, 88 West End Lane, London, N.W.
1933 DAKERS, CAPT. COLIN H., M.C., F.S.A.SCOT., Chinese Protectorate, Kuala Lumpur, Federated Malay States.
1930 DAKERS, HUGH J., ESQ., M.A., 3 Belmont Hill, St. Albans, Herts.
1937 DAVIDSON, JAMES, ESQ., M.B., CH.B., F.R.C.P.E., 41 Brampton Grove, Hendon, London, N.W. 4.
1930 DAY, WALTER HANKS, ESQ., Carlyle House, Maidstone.
1917 DENMARK, THE ROYAL COLLECTION OF COINS AND MEDALS, Copenhagen.
1926 DENTON, ARTHUR R., ESQ., "The Myrtles", Haygate Road, Wellington, Shropshire.
1904 DERBY FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, THE, F. Williamson, Esq., F.R.Hist.S., Director, Derby.
1914 DESICA CHARIAR, DIWAN BAHADUR SIR T., B.A., Trichinopoly, Southern India.

- 1910 *DEVONSHIRE, THE DUKE OF, Chatsworth, Derbyshire.
 1930 DRABBLE, GILBERT CRESWICK, ESQ., Los Altos, Sandown, Isle of Wight.
 1910 DUBLIN, DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, The Controller, The Stationery Office, Oriel House, Westland Row, Dublin.
 1904 DUBLIN, THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, R. Lloyd Praeger, Esq., O.B.E., Librarian, 19 Dawson Street, Dublin.
 1904 DUBLIN, TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY, Dublin.
 1904 EDINBURGH, THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND, H. W. Meikle, Esq., The Keeper, Edinburgh.
 1903 EDINBURGH, PUBLIC LIBRARY, Ernest A. Savage, Esq., Principal Librarian.
 1920 EDINBURGH, THE ROYAL SCOTTISH MUSEUM, N. D. Cuthbertson, Esq., Librarian.
 1913 EDINBURGH, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, F. C. Nicholson, Esq., M.A., Librarian.
 1904 EILOART, FREDERICK EDWARD, Esq., F.S.I., 40 Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2.
 1903 EVANS, LIEUT.-COLONEL C. L., R.A., "Corris", Wash Hill, Newbury.
 1905 EXETER CITY LIBRARY, H. Tapley Soper, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., F.L.A., City Librarian.
 1903 FARQUHAR, MISS HELEN, F.R.HIST.S., 6 Lowndes Street, London, S.W. 1.
 1915 FAULKNER, W. J., ESQ., Sutton House, Endon, Stoke-on-Trent.
 1929 FERGUSON, F. S., ESQ., c/o Bernard Quaritch, 11 Grafton Street, New Bond Street, London, W. 1.
 1922 FINLAND, THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF, Helsingfors.
 1903 FORRER, L., ESQ., Helvetia, 14 Homefield Road, Bromley, Kent.
 1906 GARDNER, WILLOUGHBY, ESQ., D.SC., F.S.A., Y Berlfa, Deganwy, North Wales.
 1936 GIBSON, WILLIAM S., ESQ., PH.SURG., 94 Woolstone Road, London, S.E. 23.
 1903 GLASGOW, THE MITCHELL LIBRARY, S. A. Pitt, Esq., Librarian, North Street, Glasgow.
 1903 GLENDINING, D., ESQ., 7 Argyll Street, London, W. 1.
 1927 GODMAN, DAME ALICE M., D.B.E., 45 Pont Street, S.W. 1, and South Lodge, Horsham.
 1903 GRANTLEY, LORD, D.L., J.P., F.S.A., Weeke Manor, near Winchester.
 1903 GWYER, SAMUEL EDWARD, ESQ., 7 Argyll Street, London, W. 1.
 1909 HAARER, JOHN W., ESQ., 207 West Saint Joseph Street, Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A.
 1919 HALL, HENRY PLATT, ESQ., Pentreheylin Hall, Llanymynech, Montgomeryshire.
 1909 HARVARD UNIVERSITY, LIBRARY OF, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., William C. Lane, Esq., Librarian, c/o Messrs. Edward G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C. 2.

- 1921 *HATTORI, T., ESQ., 12 Terakata-cho, Suma, Kobe, Japan.
1930 HEREFORD PUBLIC LIBRARY, THE, F. C. Morgan, Esq., Librarian,
Broad Street, Hereford.
1933 HILL, SIR NORMAN, BART., Green Place, Stockbridge, Hampshire.
1921 HOLBROOK, COMMANDER NORMAN D., V.C., Fouracres, Coombe War-
ren, Kingston Hill.
1917 HOLBROOK, MRS. NORMAN D., Fouracres, Coombe Warren, Kingston
Hill.
1917 *HOWAT, WILLIAM, ESQ., Glaisnock, 458 William Street, Melbourne,
Australia.
1906 *HUNTINGTON, ARCHER MILTON, ESQ., 1 East 89th Street, New York
City, U.S.A.; and Audubon Park, New York, U.S.A.
1935 JACOBS, CHARLES E., ESQ., 91 Brondesbury Road, London, N.W. 6.
1936 JONES, L., ESQ., Bowley Court, Bodenham, nr. Leominster.
1932 KENNY, J., ESQ., c/o Messrs. E. Clarke & Co., 7 Jewry Street, Lon-
don, E.C. 2.
1936 †KENNY, LAURENCE AMBERTON, ESQ., Shamrock, Joy Lane, Whit-
stable.
1909 KING, HORACE HERBERT, ESQ., Brookside, North Chapel, Petworth,
Sussex.
1903 LAVER, PHILIP, G., ESQ., F.S.A., Ethelstow, St. Clare Drive, Col-
chester, Essex.
1903 LAWRENCE, L. A., ESQ., F.R.C.S., F.S.A., 44 Belsize Square, London,
N.W. 3.
1904 LEE, ERNEST HARRY, ESQ., 71 Upper Parliament Street, Nottingham.
1930 LEEDS CITY MUSEUMS, Herbert W. Ricketts, Esq., F.G.S., Curator,
City Museum, Park Row, Leeds.
1904 LEEDS PUBLIC FREE LIBRARIES, THE, R. J. Gordon, Esq., Chief
Librarian, Central Free Public Library, Leeds.
1905 LEICESTER, THE MUNICIPAL LIBRARIES OF, C. V. Kirkby, Esq.,
Librarian, Leicester.
1904 LEIGH PUBLIC LIBRARY, J. D. Gifford, Esq., Librarian, Leigh,
Lancashire.
1933 LINGFORD, HERBERT M., ESQ., Lancelands, Cotherstone, Barnard
Castle, Co. Durham.
1905 LOCKETT, RICHARD CYRIL, ESQ., J.P., F.S.A., 58 Cadogan Place,
London, S.W. 1.
1922 §LONDON LIBRARY, THE, 14 St. James's Square, London, S.W. 1,
Sir C. T. Hagberg Wright, LL.D., Chief Librarian.
1933 LONDON LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF, South Kensington, London,
S.W. 7, Reginald A. Rye, Esq., M.A., Goldsmith's Librarian.
1921 LONERGAN, P., ESQ., 15 Larchfield Street, Darlington.
1915 LONGMAN, WILLIAM, ESQ., 23 Glebe Place, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1904 LYELL, COLONEL DAVID, C.M.G., D.S.O., Waterdale House, Waterdale,
Garston, Watford.
1930 MABBOTT, PROF. THOMAS OLLIVE, PH.D., 56 East 87th Street, New
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